take their opinion also and also that of some other people who are eye-witnesses because it is the Government's responsibility to find out the way in which it can do it, and it will do that.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Madam, the Government got a report from the Government's group that went there. So, that statement will cover this aspect also.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before I adjourn the House for lunch, I have to announce that from two o'clock to four o'clock we will take up further discussion on the Planning Ministry, and we will close it at four o'clock. Then, at four o'clock, we will take up the Zero Hour Mentions and the Special Mentions.

The House is adjourned for lunch for one hour.

The House then adjourned for lunch at four minutes past one of the clock.

The House re-assembled after lunch at six minutes past two of the clock,

The Vice-Chairman, Shri V. Narayanasamy, in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Now, we will take up further discussion on the working of the Ministry of Planning and Programme Implementation. Shri Biplab Dasgutpa.

Discussion on the Working of the Ministry of Planning and Programme Implementation — (Contd).

डा० (श्रीमती) उर्मिला चिमनभाई पटेल (गुजरात): सर, मिनिस्टर तो यहां आए नहीं हैं।

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, shall we wait for a few minutes? *(Interruptions).*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANSAMY): You kindly carry on. In the meanwhile, I will send word for him.

श्री अनन्तराय देवशंकर दवे (गुजरात): सर, उन्होंने तोप तय किया लगता है। मिनिस्टर ...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANSAMY): The Minister is coming. You can start, Mr. Biplab.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Sir, I am basically surprised by this document which has been brought out by the Planning Commission, the Approach Paper to the Ninth Five Year Plan. I am surprised because I thought that the Planning Commission was dead; and I thought it was finished, over, done away with, completely exhausted, no more, ex-Planning Commission, former Planning Commission. Now I find that the Planning Commission is not only alive but it is kicking. So, the question is, whom is the Planning Commission kicking? Until recently, the whole idea was that planning was an out-of-date Nehruvian, socialist concept which did not tally with the post-1991, post-USSR, reality and also that it did not tally with the market-based economic approach. There is also the idea that plan distorts prices, that plan distorts allocation of resources. So, I was very much interested to read the document to find out what position the Planning Commission was taking. Having read the document, I find that it is taking a position which is diametrically opposite to the position taken by the Finance Ministry on a whole range of issues. I will come to that later. Before that, let me welcome the Minister. Before the Minister came, I was saying that I thought the Planning Commission was dead; it was over. I am now happy to see that it is not only alived but it is also kicking. But the moot question is, whom is it kicking? That is the question we wanted to raise.

When Pranab Babu spoke, I found a touch of schizophrenia in his speech because he had been the Minister of Finance for a long time. Then towards the end of his career in the Government, he was the Deputy Chairman of the

Planning Commission. So he had a divided loyalty between finance and planning. I am glad to say that at the end of the day, he came out in support of plan rather than taking the Finance Ministry kind of approach. Even in those days when Dr. Manmohan Singh was on the rampage, when market economy was on the rampage, when the cold wind of structural reforms was sweeping the country, the Planning Commission was not exactly dead...because I remember, in July 1995, the Planning Commission had prepared a Mid-term Appraisal of the Eighth Five Year Plan and in that Appraisal, they came out with statements and observations which were very close to the observations we had made in this House on poverty, on unemployment, on investment, on savings and so on. Unfortunately, that document was not made formal by the previous Government and it has not seen the light of the day until very recently, a few months' back. I feel that there should be a proper reappraisal of the role of Planning Commission in our country. That is the first thing which we should do. Mr. Vijay Kumar Malhotra is not here. Yesterday, he was mentioning that we should have a one-year Plan Holiday. I thought that he was in a generous subdued mood because if he really wanted to come out with his own real intention, he would have said that the holiday should be stretched to eternity. In any case, he said that there should be one year Plan Holiday. Now, the Finance Ministry seems to think that planning is irrelevant, a bit of nuisance. I have some documentation from the World bank which also thinks more or less on the same lines. For example, in the latest document of the World Bank, they say that the Planning Commission, with a mandate rooted in India's pursuit of a Centrally-planned development strategy, has become a Defective Development Bank. But without the prudential financial standards, they typically guide such banks. So, the Planning Commission is no more than a Development Bank. But in India's case, it is not only that, it is without prudent financial standards. Now, I am not surprised that the World Bank is taking such a view. It is quite understandable why the World Bank would take such a view. The question is: "Should we subscribe to this view?" If we go by the World Bank's viw, then everything should be judged in terms of rate of return, in terms of profit and so on, and we should count the money in the deal again and again. On the other hand, if it is the broad social cost-benefit analysis approach, where it is not simply a single project, whose viability is important, but the link of the project with the rest of the economy, where it is not time-bound because anything happening now has got something which is not going to affect our economy for the coming ten years but will affect our economy in the coming hundred of years, once you take that approach, the social cost-benefit approach not the individual project-by-project time-bound approach which is the World Bank approach, then you will come to a different conclusion. I will give you an example the financing in subsidising the rural banks. Many branches of the rural banks are non-viable in the sense that they do not makes profits. They are in the backward areas, remote areas. They do not make profit. If you go by the standards of the Narasimham Committee, then these branches should be closed down because they do not make profit. But what about the social benefit and social costs? Today, these banks are there. So, the *mahajans* can flourish. Is it not a positive point? The chit fund can flourish. The money comes to the productive hands. The saving which is made by the people is coming to the productive hands and is invested according to the national priorities. Not only this, they also support agriculture, they also support the poverty alleviation programmes and so on. So, these banks, even when they are not making profit at a particular location, if you only go by the World Bank's kind of

criteria should be closed down. But if you take the social cost-benefit approach, you will come to a completely different kind of conclusion. So, there is no need for us to subscribe to the World Bank kind of a view. We should really take a close look at the whole process of planning and come to some decision about what we want to do about planning. If you ask me, I feel that the Planning Commission should become a Statutory Corporation. It is now an *ad-hoc* body. It has no legal status. It is just a Government body. Members come and members go. They function according to the whims of the political masters. We need a Planning Commission which is a Statutory Body like the Election Commission, which should be consisting of independent objective economists and which should be giving us an opinion which need not necessarily be binding on the Government. But they should give their own opinion. There should be no constraint on their giving opinions on any range of issues which come within their purview. I would strongly suggest that there should be a statutory Planning Commission. A new law should be passed making that possible. The Finance Minister should carry out the Budget exercise. The Planning Commissioin should carry out an exercise on quinquennial basis. There should also be perspective planning. I think this document mentioins about the perspective plan which covers a period of 20 years or 30 years. We can take a long term view.

Mr. Chavan is not here. Yesterday, he was very sceptical about the questioin of environment. Environmentalists are a bit of a nuisance. They would not allow the power plants to be set up. It is not simply a question of environment vs development. It is a question of development today and development tomorrow. If we neglect the concern for environment today, after 20 years, our resources will be depleted, our cities will be polluted. We will not be able to sustain both. It is not a question of growth versus environment or development versus environment. It is a choice between development today and development tomorrow. Those who talk of environment as a kind of nuisance, take a short term view, completely ignoring the environment which has a strong long term implication. In fact, the World Bank, in the structural adjustment programme which they implemented here, for a long time, had nothing to do with the environment. Only recently, in the early nineties, did it say, well we made the mistake. We never took the environment into consideration. Then they said, it did not affect anything, because prices really controlled everything. So, even if you did not look into environment, it did not harm environment. That is one particular kind of approach. I am not deprecating those who have taken this view. They have taken a certain view. But we need not take a monolithic view of all development. There can be many views. The World Bank is a respectable organisation. There are many United Nation bodies. We have the United Nations Conference for Trade and development. We have the UNICEF. We have the United Nations Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean. There is the Commissioin on Africa and Commissions on other States. There are many other bodies like the ILO and the FAO and their views are not necessarily in accordance with the views of the World Bank. On many issues, their views are diametrically opposite. We should try to take a broader view of the process of develoment. We should recognise that there are different parts to development, there are different views of development and there are different economic philosophies. We should recognise this in our planning approach. When I looked into the document, I found that the perspective of the document, the understanding of the document, its emphasis, its political philosophy and even the structure of analysis, its policy prescription has

nothing in common with the Finance Ministry's approach. If you look at the Budget on the one hand and the document on the other hand, you will not believe that these two documents come from the same Government. There are two different views altogether. Which of the two is the authentic voice of the Government? I will give you one example. The Finance Minister has a view that the market should control the economy and the State should not intervene. The Planning Commission's report takes a view that State should be an interventionist State because there are market failures when it deals with the vulnerable sections. Market will not do anything for the weaker sections of the society. The market will not do anything for them. No big industrialist will go to the backward regions. No businessman will be bothered about the minimum needs on education and on health. Even in the case of insurance, no business company will go in for crop insurance which is most vital to our country. They will ignore crop insurance. But they will go in for car insurance. They will go into areas which are profitable to them. They will not go into project which have a long gestation period. These have been listed in this paper. I entirely agree with them. But this approach is totally in contrast with the approach of the Finance Ministry. This report even says that we must have a deliberate bias in favour of those areas where on economic criteria alone, the performance is going to be poor. Where the market is not functioning, where the market is not going to help, the State should intervene and the state should correct the market failure. That is the appraoch which we see in this paper which is in contrast with the Finance Ministry's approach where the market is the be-all and end-all for everything.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): You must conclude.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: If you can allow me some time. I have got a few things to say.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): But the problem is that the hon. Minister has to go at 4 O' clock. There are seven more speakers.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: I will answer the points. I will not repeat anything. Then, for example, the institutional approach. Again I find the rhetoric which was missing for five years. Land reforms, I have not heard the word for many years now. Cooperatives, panchayati raj, oh: with what audacity you are talking about Panchayati Raj; empowerment of women and other weaker sections; mass mobilisation; you must have committed a crime to have talked about mass mobilsation; popular participation in the development process. All these are usually dismissed as species from the out-of-date old Nehruvian era. Now I find this appearing here. Crowding out of the private investment the whole theory of the World Bank, repeatedly mentioned also by the Finance Minister when he speaks is that public investment crowds out private Investment. So public investment should retreat and private investment should take over. The experience in India, and in all the poor countries of the world, is that it is absolutely wrong. Public investment and private investment are closely, positively co-related. If the public investment does not take place, then private investment does not take place. And the Planning Commission on page 23 comes out with this point that without public demand and infrastructural investment the efficiency and capacity utilistioin of private investment tends to suffer. Then on subsidies, I understand the Finance Minister is producing a paper on subsidies. Not that this paper is saying that subsidy should be high, big and all that, it says subsidy should be transparent, subsidy should be directed, subsidy should be effective but subsidy is not out, subsidy is not meant for sale. If you look at the experience in America

and in Western Europe, they are subsidising their food and agriculture so much that every agricultural family in the United States gets 28,000 dollars per year as subsidy. What you give to our agriculturists is peanuts as compared to what they give. Why do they give? They give beeasue they want to make their own agriculture competitive with the rest of the world. Americans do not enjoy comparative advantage in agriculture. Still they subsidise their agriculture to become competitive in the world market. As we are saying, no subsidy is bad. Then, it rejects the argument that we do not need food self-sufficiency. The whole ethos of the structural adjustment is this; you sell whatever you can sell to the world market, you buy whatever you cannot produce, from the world market. There is no for self-sufficiency input. That is the Finance Ministry kind of approach. Here it says categorically, food self-sufficiency is the basic element of development strategy; it cannot be ignored. I have just mentioned the case of Japan, a country which can buy anything from anywhere at any price. Even Japanese provide more than 60 per cent subsidy to their agriculturists so that they do not have to rely for food on any other country in the world. In Japan you can buy anything from the world market and here we are thinking of abandoning self-sufficiency that we have achieved which is nothing but suicidal. Then, for example, I hear one criticism of the paper. The paper very rightly talks about technological independence. It says that the domestic technological capabilities must be built, and it does not treat multi-nationals as the vehicles of technology. It is not that the multi-nationals will bring in the technology. That never happens. Multi-nationals will bring in the technology which they will controls and as long as they will control it will be there and if it is a low level of technology, they might share with us. That is the world experience for the last fifty years. But here I find that the Planning Commission has not gone to the logical conclusions. That is, to challenge the international patent regime, to challenge the World Trade Organisation, to challenge the attempt which is being made to perpetuate the technological dependence of the poor countries on the rich countries. So that point has not been taken to its logical conclusions. The Budget talks about employment, so much employment has been created every year, and all that. Here you find a truth. The truth is this, that the formal employment is declining, casualisation is taking place and in the Ninth Plan the total employment of all kinds taken together would not have absorbed the extra which has been increased, not to speak of taking care of the backlog of employment.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Kindly conclude.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Sir, please don't ring the bell. I am not repeating.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Without repeating you can go on speaking also.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Sir, I am just quickly making the points. Now you can also revive the old debate on growth and development. Growth is a quantitative measure; GNP per capita. That is the growth. Developpment is a much broader multi-dimensional concept which also talks about quality of life. How many poor people do we have in the country? How many are unemployed? How many people are without houses? These measures are also important, not only GDP per capita. So, in that sense again I see a going-back to the old debate of growth and development. It is a historical analysis. Dr. Manmohan Singh and his successor always find the roots of all the problems of India in the 1990-91 crisis. But I find that this document is more truthful historically because it goes back to '80s when there was this profligacy of expenditure without limit and foreign borrowing on a big scale.

That has tilted the balance and made our economy and economic management non-viable.

When you come to rate of growth, I have some doubts. Not exactly doubts, but I have some sort of questions. For example, this document says that the objective is to achieve 7% rate of growth for the next Five Year Plan period. How did they work out this 7%? They assume an incremental capital-output ratio of around 4%. I am just giving the round figures. Then they assume 28% investment. So, 28% investment when divided by a 4 gives you 7% rate of growth of the economy. Now, I have a number of questions to ask. For example, this assumes that the incremental capital-output ratio would be reduced from the figure which is there, around 4.5 to 4%, which involves a certain improvement in efficiency and this and that. My question is whether it is achievable or not. Then it also raises a question about domestic saving. I am not saying that domestic saving cannot be raised. But if you look at the way the rate is growing, I am not sure whether you can achieve that rate. That is much lower than even the East Asian rate, the East Asian rate in the late '30s or even in the '40s in the case of Singapore. We are only talking about 26% domestic growth which is not that much of domestic saving. But the point is that when you are really exempting the imports from all customs duty, liberalising imports and all the untested luxury goods are coming into our economy, the propensity to consume is going to go up so much—and it is actually going up—that we are developing into a consumer society. But does this consumer society tally with a society which would be austere and which would be saving and which would then invest? Even in the West, in Europe for example, when capitalism came, one of the factors which motivated capitalist development was a switch-over from Catholicism to Protestant culture because the Protestant culture involves less of conspicuous consumption, more of simple living and more of savings.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Kindly conclude.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Only three or four minutes, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): No three or four minutes. Only one more minute. I will then call the other Member. Your time was about 15 minutes and you have already taken 25 minutes.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: No. I have taken twenty perhaps. There was this delay because of *halla.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): I gave you the benefit for that. Kindly conclude now.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: On public saving the Government makes a point that public saving is very low because taxes account for something like 15%. But the expenditure is around 13%. So, there is only 2% saving. Now, the expenditure cannot be reduced much if you all know how to curtail interest-payments, defence payments or even the subsidies. But on taxes I will just make one point because the time at my disposal is short.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Kindly conclude.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: There is one avenue for raising the taxes and I wish the Planning Commission had taken upthis point. I hope when the formal document comes, this point will be taken up. We have a large rural sector. A vast majority of the population in the rural sector is unable to pay taxes. They are poor. The Government should pay to them rather than they pay to the Government. In fact, they are paying a lot already to the Government in terms of indirect taxes. But there is a small rich sector which is only 5% of the population, but which means five crores. Today only less then one crore of the population pay indirect taxes. As soon

as you bring in these very rich people of the rural sector, it becomes five crores, five times more. And these are the people whose income can be easily identified through the Wealth Tax. You can impose the Wealth Tax. It is a Central duty—the rural Wealth Tax. The land is there, which can be identified. Evaluation of land can be done according to the crop pattern, quality of the soil and all that by an evaluation board. The common harvestors, tractors, etc. could all be assessed. And then on that basis it is possible for us to impose the Wealth Tax. Why should this not be done now? If I remember correctly, in the fifties, when Nicholas Kaldor came to this country, one of the things he suggested was the wealth-tax. It was introduced. Later it was withdrawn not to antagonise the rural rich because, unfortunately, many of the rural rich were very important political functionaries in our country. But, somebody has to be bold. I don't expect this boldness from the Finance Ministry. I would expect this boldness from the Planning Commission to come out with a recommendation about this huge area, a small proportion of the rural population because the vast majority cannot pay but a very large number...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Kindly conclude.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: I am now concluding, Sir. I would only mention that Prof. Malhotra is not here. But, one of the critical points he made about this document was that this document has nothing on population growth. I think, probably, he has not studied the document properly. On page 16, among the objectives, the fifth objective is 'containing population growth'. That is for the information of Prof. Malhotra, who is not here.

I am very happy that this document has been brought out by the Planning Commission. I hope that when the final document comes out, some more thinking would be given to some of the points I have raised. But, I would expect the Planning Minister, who is an old friend of mine, to be bold, not to be cowed down by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Finance Ministry, and as an academic with a reputation to protect—he is not only a Minister, but he is also an academic with a reputation to protect—he should be bold enough.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Both of you professors can discuss it elsewhere. Kindly conclude.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: This would be in the best interest of the country. Thank you very much.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am happy to participate in this discussion initiated by Shri Pranab Mukherjee on the working of the Ministry of Planning and Programme Implementation. Sir, the purpose of planning is very clear. The purpose of planning, as has already been informed by various reports of the Planning Commission over these years is, beyond doubt, alleviation of poverty, employment generation, fulfilment of the basic needs of all and removal of economic disparity. We have started planning only for this purpose. Why was the planning started? It was started because during 1938 many countries of the world were not progressing and their growth was not commensurate to alleviate poverty. They were not able to fulfil the aspirations of their people. In the year 1928, Sovict Russia started the Gosplan or the planning.

Sir, you are well aware that at time Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was in the Congress. Even in the year 1938, they said that planning is a very important thing which India has to undertake. On that basis, the Congress Party came into power. They selected the Nehru-Mahalonobis Model. On that basis, planning was introduced in our country for the purpose of alleviating all the four parameters which I

mentioned just now. Sir, 40 years of planning have gone and now we are in the Ninth Five Year Plan. We have to review whether this planning process has served the very purpose for which it was introduced. It is very clear that none of the parameters, none of the paradigms with which plannig started has been fulfilled or achieved during the last 40 years. Sir, now we are talking that over the next 20—25 years, Planning will accomplish what it could not accomplish over a period of 40 years. This is the premise on which we are going. The point is that the number of people below the poverty line has gone up, the number of people who are unemployed has also gone up maybe their percentage is less this way or that way, but the number of people who are below the poverty line has gone up. The number of people who would be seeking employment in the next plan period would be at least one crore. This is all what is going on.

Sir, I remember one of the speeches of Shri Piloo Modi in this House when he was in the Swatantara Party. At that time, I was a Member of the Upper House of Tamil Nadu Legilature. I happened to be present in the Gallery when a question was put to the hon. Minister by Shri Piloo Modi. What is the number of people below the poverty-line and the number of unemployed during the First Plan period? The then Planning Minister gave the number of people under the poverty-line and the number of people unemployed. He went on to the Second Plan, the Third Plan and every plan period. The number of people who were below the proverty-line and the number of people who unemployed were becoming more and more. Piloo Mody, in his own characteristic style asked the hon. Minister as to how many Plan periods would be necessary to make everybody in this country poor and unemployed. This was a very fitting question for which the Minister replied that within a certian number of years everything would get solved in this country. Sir, the more the plans we have the more the people are getting unemployed. The more the Plans we have, the more the people are becoming poor. This is what is happening in our country. We want to know whether it has happened in our country only or in other countries under whose model we have fulfilled, have achieved the purpose for which the model of planning had been adumbrated in this country. Sir, I recently had an opportunity to go to Russia. Russia is the country which has given the model to India. It is this model that we had seen in the USSR, that many other countries had been thinking that there would be greater growth rate through planning, poverty could be alleviated, everybody would become rich and that every need will be fulfilled.

Many of my friends are from Tamil Nadu. I still remember those days when one comedy actor was very sagacious, Shri N.S. Krishnan. He went to Russia during 1950-51 when planning started in India. There he found that everything was fine-going. He found that people were very happy and everbody had housing, everybody had has bread and people were so happy. When he came back, he had a drama called 50's and 60's, *Aimbudum Arumbudum*. Some of my friends may remember that drama. Some Ministers also may remember that drama wherein he had said that during 60's, when India completes two Five Year Plans, everybody would have a house and everybody would have everything. You know, Sir, that drama became so successful all over the country, people started having faith in planning in those years. But, ultimately, what happened? There has been a great disillusionment that planning has not served any purpose so far. Not only in our country but in many countreis. No country has derived any benefit out of that planning.

Recently I had been to Russia in a delegation as a Member from my party. I was there as a State-guest. We visited many places in that country. I went to St. Petersburg, originally it was called

Leningrad, where a war had taken place. Our team was asked to lay a memorial wreath on the war victims of that place. We placed the wreath. Being a delegate-member from our country, a car was provided, an interpreter was there and a driver. The interpreter was a lady. She was explaining to me the greatness of Russia, the greatness of St. Petersburg. I saw many places. Russia is a great country and there is no doubt about it. Some of us were thinking that it had prosperity even under the Czars. I was really wonderstruck to see the museum of heritage where I found the artefacts of Russian monarchy of those days. She was explaining to me the greatness of Russia. I asked a simple question; How are you economically? Then there was silence for 2-3 minutes. She then started weeping. She was 30—35 years of age. The woman started weeping. I asked her, "Why do you weep? You were so happy explaining and why are you weeping now? She said," Sir, if I tell you really, we are all starving. We do not have food for our children. My own children do not have food in schools. They are fainting. Teachers are fainting. This is the condition under which we are all there. We have not received our pension. We have not received our salary and the whole country is under great stress and strain economically. This is Russia.

Sir, maybe, some of my friends from the Marxist Party would say that it may be because Yeltsin has come to Russia. It is not so. It is because planning has not given anything. They went to an alternative model. They went very fast and with this model they were not able to solve their problems. They were not able to solve their problems by the original socialism and planning model. This is what is happening. The intervening period became very bad. It is not only the USSR; even all the East-European countries, including the small country Albania, which have adopted the model of planning, are now starving. Most of these countries are breaking up. The countries which started with the planning process are breaking up and some of them have already collapsed. They are going in for other models. I would like to know as to why we cannot adopt the process which is being followed by the prosperous countries of the world. Sir, I will conclude by making only two or three points. Sir, I would like to say something about the countries which have adopted the model of planning and the countries which have gone directly the opposite way. I would like to quote countries like Japan, West Germany, Singapore, Taiwan, Korea, etc. These are the countries which do not have faith in the process of planning. These countries are very prosperous now. My friend from the Marxist Party. Dr. Biplab Dasgupta, has said that the Japanese can purchase anything anywhere in the world. They are able to do so because they are very prosperous. They are so rich that they purchase properties in America. Recently when I had been to a place which is very near the other side of San Francisco, I found that there are a lot of Japanese there. They are purchasing properties there and they call it a mini-Japan. When we started in 1947 they were as good as we were. Perhaps they were no better than India. How did they become prosperous? It is because we went in for the planning mode and they went in for the non-planning mode. The countries which adopted the non-planning mode are now very prosperous. If you take the example of West Germany and East Germany which are very close to each other, akin to each other culturally and ethnically, you will find that West Germany is very prosperous and it is like a heaven. On the other hand, East Germany, as has been pointed out by one of my hon. friends, is like a hell. It is the same country, same people, same initiative etc., with two models. One of these models is free enterprise or the market model or whatever model you call it. The other model is that which we have adopted. So, when we open our eyes—I am not an economist—we find that by planning India has not realised the

aspirations. I also find that the countries which have adopted the model of planning have not prospersed whereas the countries which have adopted the non-planning mode have prospered, I would like to know whether it is necessary for us to continue with this planning. I would also like to know whether by planning we will be able to give an assurance that we will be able to do that which has not been done during the course of so many years. This is the question that I want to put because I feel that the direction which we are taking is not the right one If we continue to take the same direction, we will have the same illusion and only what has happened today will happen. Sir, I would like to mention here that Tories have come to power in England. Regarding Tony Blair who is the new Prime Minister of England, I have read newspapers. One newspaper says that Tony Blair is a market-friendly evangelist who is disowning his own ideological political ancestors. This is what one newspaper says. The other newspapers says that the Labour Prime Minister in Britian is a fake Tory. One more newspaper says that he is a Conservative with a compassion. This is what the newspapers are saying about Tony Blair. So, ultimately every country is veering round to other models. They are accepting those models which are akin to them. They are also trying to find out as to what model will suit them. While concluding my speech, I would like to say now that we have taken up the new Economic Policy, when we are market-friendly, when we have taken up the globalisation as a necessary thing for the welfare and growth of this country, I feel we should also definitely think of any other model other than planning which can be different from planning but which should help us and which should be the fittest model that our country can adopt.

But now we cannot completely disown and say that everything should be scrapped. If you do that in a hurry, maybe, that will end up like Russia or like other Latin countries because there is no total solution for this problem. The transition can be a great handicap to India and to the poor of India. We have definitely to see that the people do not duffer. The people should have everything to eat unlike in Russia. Otherwise there will be a great revolution. Any Government, any democratic Government, is something like a coin. On one side there is politics and on the other side there is economy. Economy cannot divest itself from politics and politics cannot divest itself from economy. If you really want to have progress, you have to closely think, during the process of transition, of different models, so that our people, our common people, our poor people do not suffer. I am pleading this because the model that we have taken is a good model for distribution. But, India has distributed only poverty. And model is necessary for creating wealth. planning process is not a process for creating wealth. It is only market that can create wealth. In a market economy alone you can create wealth and then only you can say that you will be able to give very fast whatever the consumer wants. The country has to move very, very fast. I will only tell you one small example and close my speech. Recently, I had been to London. Normally when we go to a supermarket, we pick up the required items and put them in basket and then take them to the cashier. When you go there, naturally you take one after the other and he scans the whole basket it comes into his computer and then he gives the bill. After this whole process, we will put whatever we have purchased in a basket and carry it outside. I was really surprised to find that when I carried all the things out, the man was ready with a bill. I was really surprised. I asked, "What happens, I have not taken what I have purchased there how do you have the bill in your hands?" He said, "The scanner is in your basket." He further said, "When you have taken items the scanner has shown me what you have taken." I asked him, "Suppose I take out some items, then

what happens." He said, "The scanner will deduct that particular item and than that goes into the cash box and then I will give you the bill." I asked him again,"Why do you do that?" He said, "You have been doing three motions: one is taking; the second is, giving back; and the third is, returning. Now you take, I will give you the bill and you take them out." He further said that because of this the time is saved and my store is able to serve more customers. This is the fastness with which the economy is going. Suppose we have a model which is anit-diluvian every time and nobody would work and nobody would be productive. As our hon. Prime Minister has said, "If you want to be really prosperous, you have to be productive." planning does not make you productive and if people are not productive either in the private sector or in the public sector, the country will never prosper. Personally I feel in the end, you seriously think of having an alternative model and that model can be thought of by all economists including Dr. Biplab Dasgupta and many of us here will be very happy if such a model comes and India becomes prosperous. Thank you.

श्री बंगारू लक्ष्मण (गुजरात): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूं। महोदय, प्लानिंग और प्रोग्राम इंप्लीमेंटेशन मिनिस्ट्री के कार्यकरण पर कल से यहां चर्चा हो रही है। मैं इस चर्चा को बड़े ध्यान से सुन रहा था। कल जब विजय कुमार महल्होत्रा जी ने कहा कि अच्छा होता कि हम इस वर्ष प्लान हॉलीडे मनाते, यह उन्होंने इस बात को ध्यान में रखकर कहा कि इस देश में यद्यपि प्लानिंग 1950 से शुरू हो गई थी लेकिन देखा यह गया कि इस दरम्यान 7 वर्ष ऐसे रहे जो किसी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अंतर्गत नहीं आए। हमने 1950 से पंचवर्षीय योजना का कार्यक्रम शुरू किया और आज हम 1997 में हैं।

अभी-अभी हमको नाईथ प्लान का एप्रोच पेपर मिला है। अगर 1997 तक की प्लानिंग बराबर चलती आती तो आज हमारे टैथ फाईव ईयर प्लान का आधा समय बीत चुका होता। सात वर्ष ऐसे ही चले गए जहां कोई प्लानिंग नहीं रहा और इसीलिए अब जबकि नाईथ फाईव ईयर प्लान पीरियड शुरू हो चुका है तब जाकर के एप्रोच पेपर तैयार हो रहा है। इसलिए ऐसा लगता है कि इस देश के अंदर यद्यपि प्लानिंग कमीशन को हम लोगों ने एडोप्ट किया है, प्लानिंग कमीशन को सैटअप किया है 1950 में। लेकिन प्लानिंग कमीशन को अपने इस जीवन का, इस इकोनोमी का एसियेंशल पार्ट नहीं बनाया है। यह बात मानी गई है कि मार्केट इकोनोमी आने के बाद प्लानिंग की आवश्यकता नहीं है। अभी मैं माननीय सदस्य का भाषण सुन रहा था। मार्केट इकोनोमी में प्लानिंग की आवश्यकता नहीं होती है। मैं इस बात से सहमत नहीं हूं। यह ठीक है कि मार्केट इकोनोमी हम लोगों ने यहां इंट्रोड्यूज किया है लेकिन देश में हमारे ऐसे कई सैक्शन आफ सोसाइटी हैं जो मार्केट इकोनोमी का मुकाबला कर नहीं सकते, उनका सामना नहीं कर सकते। उनके लिए हमारे कुछ सोशल ऑब्लीगेशन है जिनको निभाने के लिए, उसको पूरा करने के लिए हमें निश्चित रूप से प्लानिंग का सहारा लेना पड़ता है। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य की स्थिति यह है कि यहां इस देश के अंदर प्लानिंग का कौन सा स्टेट्स दिया गया है अभी तक क्लियर नहीं हुआ है। यह गवर्नमेंट रिजोल्यूशन के कारण प्लानिंग कमीशन बना है। इसको कोई स्टेट्यूटरी पॉवर नहीं है। लेकिन कोई एन्युअल प्लान बिना प्लानिंग कमीशन की क्लियरेंस के यहां पास नहीं होता, कोई पंचवर्षीय योजना आगे नहीं चल पाती। लेकिन प्लानिंग कमीशन कुछ करने की स्थिति में नहीं है जब तक फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री एप्रूवल नहीं देता। इस प्रकार की एक स्थिति है और इसलिए कभी-कभी लोग डिमांड करते है कि इस प्लानिंग कमीशन का मतलब क्या है इसको समाप्त कर दीजिए। अगर यह नहीं चलना है, इसको कोई स्टेट्यूटरी पॉवर नहीं है, कांस्टीट्यूशनल ऑथोरिटी नहीं है तो इसको रखने का क्या मतलब है। इस प्रकार यह बात बार-बार आती रही है। इसलिए जब हम यह मानकर चलते है कि जैसे प्लानिंग कमीशन ने यह कहा है कि:

"Planning is essential for macro-economic management, for taking care of the poor and down-trodden who were mostly outside the market system and have little assets as endowments."

अगर यह बात हम लोग मानकर के चलते है तो हमारे आब्लीगेशन इस गरीब, कमजोर और सोशली बैकवार्ड सैक्शन के प्रति है तो प्लानिंग कमीशन को चलाना पड़ेगा तो इसको कोई स्टेट्यूटरी रूप या फिर इस प्रकार का कोई कांस्टीट्यूशनल स्टेट्स इस प्लानिंग कमीशन को मिलना चाहिए। जब भरी सरकारें बदलती

है, जब भी कोई परिवर्तन होते है तो फिर प्लान हॉलीडे की बात इसी प्रकार से चलती रहती है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, बाकी सब बातों पर मैं जाना नहीं चाहता, केवल एक बात की तरफ मैं आपका और सरकार का भी ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूं। प्लानिंग के रहते हुए भी इस देश के अंदर गरीबी समाप्ति की दिशा में नहीं जा रहे हैं। जितनी हम लोगों ने अपेक्षा की थी कि जिस तेजी के साथ गरीबी समाप्ति की दिशा में नहींजा रहे है। जितनी हम लोगों ने अपेक्षा की थी कि जिस तेजी के साथ समाप्त होगी वह नहीं हुई। आज यह माना गया है कि 39 परसेंट और 40 परसेंट लोग अभी इस देश में गरीबी रेखा से नीचे रहते है। अब इसमें ऐसे कौन से वर्ग है जो ज्यादा गरीबी झेल रहे हैं। इस देश का अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जनजाति का वर्ग विशेष अधिकांश लोग इस गरीबी रेखा से नीचे आज भी जीवन बसर कर रहे है। यह कहा जा रहा है कि पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना के लगातार इन अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति के लोगों के कल्यान के लिए इनके विकास के लिए पैसों का आबंटन हुआ। इस देश के अंदर बार-बार यह कहा जाता है कि गरीबों के कल्यान के लिए सरकारें बन रही हैं, उनकी गरीबी दूर करने की दृष्टि से योजनाएं बन रही है। लेकिन देखा यह गया कि ईमानदारी के साथ इस दिशा में कोई प्रयास नहीं हुआ।

हम लोग सब यह जानते है कि इस देश के अंदर 25 परसेंट पापूलेशन शैडयूल्ड कास्ट और शैडयूल्ड ट्राइब की है। 1991 के सैंसस के हिसाब से 16.48 परसेंट शैडयूल्ड कास्ट पापूलेशन है और 8.16 परसेंट शैडयूल्ड ट्राइब्स पापूलेशन है। इस सैंसस के समय जिन बौद्धों को नहीं जोड़ा गया है, वह भी अब शैडयूल्ड कास्ट की लिस्ट में आ चुके हैं। इस प्रकार देश की आबादी की 25 परसेंट पापूलेशन ऐसी है। जब से आजादी हमको मिली है तब से और शताब्दियों से यह लोग पिछड़े रहे हैं। उनके ऊपर अनेक प्रकार के अत्याचार हुए है। यह माना गया है यह टारगेट ग्रुप है और इनका विकास जल्दी से जल्दी करना है। हर योजना का यह लक्ष्य रहा है कि जब गरीबी की हम लोग बात करते है तो इन्हें ध्यान में रखकर करें। एक बात इस संबंध में कहने की आवश्यकता है कि यद्यपि 25 परसेंट पापूलेशन टारगेट ग्रुप का है लेकिन उस टारगेट ग्रुप के लिए इस देश के अंदर, हमारी व्यवस्था के अंदर आज तक एक मिनिस्ट्री या मंत्रालय भी नहीं है। हमारे पास इन 25 परसेंट लोगों के लिए प्रथम चार पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के अंतर्गत जो पैसा आबंटित किया गया था वह बैकवर्ड क्लासिस के कल्याण के नाम से पैसे का आबंटन होता था। उसके बाद छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना के आरंभ से सबसे पहले स्पैशल कम्पोनेंट प्लान शैडयूल्ड कास्ट के लिए बना और ट्राइबल प्लान शैडयूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिए बना। इस तरह से थोड़ा सा कार्य शुरू हुआ लेकिन दुर्भाग्य यह है कि शताब्दियों से जो समाज का एक वर्ग दूर रखा गया, वह आज भी गरीबी के अंदर जीवन बसर कर रहा है। मानव अधिकार तक उसको नहीं मिलते है। ऐसे लोगों को समाज के दूसरे लोगों के साथ बराबरी का दर्जा दिलाने की दृष्टि से इस देश में जिस प्रकार से विशेष प्रयास होने चाहिए थे, वह विशेष प्रयास नहीं हुए है। उसकी तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। इसलिए हमारे पास कोई मिनिस्ट्री भी नहीं है। जब 1947 में देश का विभाजन हुआ तो पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान और पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से कुछ लोग यहां शर्णार्थियों के नाते आए थे और वह लाखों की संख्या में आए थे। उन शर्णार्थियों को रीहैब्लीटेट करने की बात को देश ने बड़ा सीरियसली लिया और लेना भी चाहिए था। एक मिनिस्ट्री बनी, रीहैब्लीटेशन की मिनिस्ट्री और उस रीहैब्लीटेशन की मिनिस्ट्री ने 10 साल के अंदर जो लोग बाहर से आए थे, उनको रीहैब्लीटेट करने की कोशिक की। इस प्रकार से वह लोग समाज के दूसरे लोगों के साथ बदाबरी का दर्जा पा सके। यहां 25 परसेंट पापूलेशन इस प्रकार की है जो शताब्दियों से रिफ्यूजी है, विस्थापित है और समाज से अलग-थलग पड़ी हुई है,जिसको मेन स्ट्रीम में लाने की आवश्यकता है। उस प्रकार के समाज को मैन स्ट्रीम में लाने के लिए यहां कोई मंत्रालय तक नहीं है, इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति है । आज वैलफेयर मिनिस्ट्री में इनको भले ही डाल दिया हो, लेकिन वैलफैयर मिनिस्टर के पास इतने विभाग हैं, इतने डिपार्टमेंट पड़े है जिससे ऐसा हो रहा है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि पहली चार पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के अंतर्गत 20 साल में शैडयूल्ड कास्ट और शैडयूल्ड ट्राइब्स के डैवलपमेंट के लिए 433 करोड़ रुपये का आबंटन हुआ था। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि हर साल 21 करोड़ रुपये का आबंटन होता था, जो उनके डैवलपमेंट के लिए खर्च होता था। अगर पर हैड पापुलेशन में इस पैसे को बांट दिया जाए तो 1 रुपया 75 पैसे एक साल के अंदर एक आदमी के लिए आबंटन हुआ। इस से विकास होना संभव नहीं है। यह बात इससे साफ हो जाती है। पहले प्लान के अंतर्गत जो टोटल हमारा आउटले रहा, उसमें से इन बैकवर्ड क्लास के नाम से, जो आबंटन शैडयूल्ड कास्ट और शैडयूल्ड

ट्राइब्स के लिए हुआ, वह केवल, 1.3 परसेंट था। दूसरे प्लान में वह 1.9 परसेंट था, तीसरे प्लान में 1.4 परसेंट था और चौथे प्लान से धीरे-धीरे यह घटता जा रहा है। चौथे प्लान में 0.9 परसेंट हुआ, पांचवे प्लान के अंदर 0.8 परसेंट हुआ, छठे प्लान में 1.6 परसेंट और सातवें प्लान के अंदर 1.4 परसेंट हुआ। और शायद....

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री वी० नारायणसामी): बंगारू लक्ष्मण जी, आपका टाइम खत्म हो गया है, काइंड्ली कनक्लूड।

3.00 म०प०

इसका मतलब यह है कि पापुलेशन के आधार पर इसके ऊपर जो पैसा खर्च करना चाहिए, वह नहीं हो रहा है। अगर इस ढंग से हम लोग खर्च करते जायेंगे तो निश्चित रूप से जो अपेक्षा हम लोग कर रहे हैं कि जल्दी से जल्दी इससे गरीबी दूर होगी तो यह सम्भव नहीं है। प्लानिंग कमीशन ने ही एक उप समिति एट्थ फाइव ईयर प्लान के दौरान शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के डेवलपमेंट के लिए बनाई थी कि क्या कुछ किया जाना चाहिए योजना बनाने की दृष्टि से। उस उप समिति ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में साफ कहा है कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की पापुलेशन की स्थिति सात पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के पूरा होने के बाद भी ऐसी है कि इसके 80 प्रतिशत लोग अभी भी गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहते हैं। यह उस सब कमेटी ने माना है। इसका मतलब यह है कि आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के समय में 80 प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी रेखा के नीचे थे। आज अगर इनफ्लेशन और बाकी चीजों को देखा जाये तो यह ठीक है कि गरीबी दूर करने की दृष्टि से फ्राइनेंशियल एसिसटेंस फैमलीज को दिया जाता है लेकिन देखा यह गया है कि जहां पर 12 परसेंट एक प्लान पीरियड के अन्दर क्रास ओवर करते हैं वहीं पर पिछली संख्या में से 40 परसेंट लोगों की फिर दुबारा से गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे जाने की स्थिति बार-बार देखने को मिलती है।

मेरा यह निवेदन है कि प्लानिंग कमीशन से अभी भी स्पेशल कंपोनेंट प्लान और ट्राइबल सब प्लान के लिए जो आवंटन होता है उसको देखने की जिम्मेदारी भी प्लानिंग कमीशन की ही होती है की क्योंकि एनुअल प्लान और फाइव ईयर प्लान को वह एप्रूव करता है। उसको यह भी देखना पड़ेगा कि हर राज्य के अन्दर जनसंख्या की आबादी के हिसाब से उनके अनुपात में ट्राइबल सब प्लान के लिए आवंटन हुआ है या नहीं। उसी प्रकार से स्पेशल कंपोनेंट प्लान के अन्तर्गत अलोकेशन हुआ है या नहीं। यह देखने की जिम्मेदारी प्लानिंग कमीशन की है और जब तक पूरे तरीके से अलोकेशन नहीं होता है, उस प्लान को एप्रूवल नहीं देनी चाहिए।

राज्यों की इस प्रकार की स्थिति है कि केवल सात और आठ परसेंट तो आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के शुरू में था और आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के समय में यह बढ़कर 9 से 10 के बीच में अलोकेशन होना शुरू हुआ। धीरे-धीरे यह बढ़ रहा है। इसके बढ़ने से जिन लोगों को फायदा पहुंचना चाहिए वह फायदा तो उस समय ले लेते हैं लेकिन साल दो साल के बाद फिर गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे वह लोग चले जा रहे हैं। इस बात को ध्यान में रखकर यह नियम बनाना होगा कि जब भी राज्यों के प्लान आपके पास आये तो शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिए जितना भी पापुलेशन के प्रपोशन में अलोकेशन होना चाहिए, उसको इंश्योर करना चाहिए। इतना ही नहीं....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Kindly conclude.

श्री बंगारू लक्ष्मण: केन्द्र सरकार के अन्दर आज 30-35 मिनिस्ट्रीज हैं और उनमें से केवल 10 या 12 मिनिस्ट्रीज ऐसी हैं जो अलोकेशन करती हैं, बाकी नहीं करती है, किसी न किसी बहाने से नहीं करती हैं। लेकिन एनुअल प्लान जब प्लानिंग कमीशन के पास आता है तो उसको यह देखना चाहिए कि हर मिनिस्ट्री इसके अन्तर्गत अलोकेशन करे और उनके विकास के लिए काम करे। यह जब तक नहीं होगा तब तक यह समाज हमसे हमेशा कटा हुआ रहेगा। हम जब 50 वर्ष आजादी के पूरे कर रहे हैं तो हमें आज एक बार दुबारा सोचने की आवश्यकता है। अपने सोशल आब्लीगेशन्स को पूरा करने के लिए एक ठोस कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता है। आप कम से कम नौवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में यह निर्णय करिए कि हर साल योजना के अन्तर्गत पापुलेशन के बेसिस पर उनके लिए आवंटन होगा और यदि नहीं होगा तो उस वर्ष की योजना को अनुमति नहीं मिलेगी। अगर यह निर्णय किया जाए तो शायद इस दिशा में कुछ कदम ठीक चलेंगे। इस बात को आपके सामने रखते हुए मैं अपनी बात पूरी करता हूं। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI V NARAYANASAMY): Shrimati Renuk Chowdhury.....Not here. Shri Ish Dut Yadav, Your time is only seven minute:

SHRI ISH DUTT YADAV (Utta Pradesh)): Fifteen minutes?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V

NARAYANASAMY): Seven minutes. After the sixth minute I will ring the bell and you will have to finish by the seventh minute.

श्री ईश दत्त यादव: सम्मानित उपसभाअध्यक्ष जी, आपको घंटी बजाने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी। योजना और कार्यक्रम क्रियान्वयन विभाग या मंत्रालय की समीक्षा हो रही है, इस पर चर्चा हो रही है। मैं समझता हूं कि यह विभाग इस देश का सबसे महत्वपूर्ण विभाग है क्योंकि इसका संबंध देश के विकास से, देश की उन्नति से, गरीबी दूर करने से और बेकारी दूर करने से है।

सब लोगों ने योजना मंत्री जी की प्रशंसा की है, मैं भी इनकी प्रशंसा कर रहा हूं। मान्यवर, आज हमारी आजादी के पचास वर्ष पूरे हो चुके हैं और हम इसकी स्वर्ण जयन्ती मना रहे हैं। हमारी आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना खत्म हो गई है, लेकिन इस देश की प्लानिंग में जो सफलता मिलनी चाहिये थी, जो कामयाबी होनी चाहिये थी, वह कामयाबी हमें हासिल नहीं हुई। मैं आकड़ों में नहीं जाना चाहता हूं लेकिन आज भी इस देश के 34-35 प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे जिन्दगी बिता रहे हैं, आज भी इस देश में सभी लोग शिक्षित नहीं हो सके। केवल 30 प्रतिशत जमीन ही सिंचित हो सकी है और बाकी जमीन असिंचित पड़ी हुई है। करोड़ों बेकार लोगों की फौज इस देश में खड़ी हुई है। स्वास्थ्य, चिकित्सा शिक्षा और यातायात की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं हो सकी।

मान्यवर, मैं समझता हूं कि हमारे जो नियोजक रहे हैं, प्लानर रहे हैं, ये इस देश की समस्या को समझ नहीं पाये हैं। मैं कोई अर्थशास्त्री नहीं हूं और न ही अर्थशास्त्र का गणित समझता हूं, न विज्ञान समझता हूं। हमारे विद्वान अर्थशास्त्री मंत्री जी यहां बैठे हुए हैं और तमाम विद्वान लोग हैं लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि जो हमारे प्लानर थे, इन्होंने गलती की। गलती यह की कि इस देश के अंदर जो उत्पादन होना चाहिये था, जो जमीन से निकलता है उसको निकालने की इन्होंने कोशिश नहीं की। कम से कम छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना तक जो कुछ भी सम्पत्ती जमीन से निकलती है, यह माइक जिससे हम बोल रहे हैं इसमें लगा लोहा जमीन से निकला, लकड़ी जमीन से निकली, कपड़े के लिए कपास जमीन से निकली, अनाज जमीन से निकला और कोयला जमीन से निकला। जो जमीन से निकालना था उसको हमारे प्लानरों ने जमीन से निकालने की कोशिश नहीं की। विदेशों से कर्जा लेकर इस देश के अन्दर बड़े-बड़े कारखाने खड़े किये और रॉ-मैटेरियल तैयार नहीं किया। भिलाई, दुर्गापुर और सिन्दरी तमाम कारखाने जो लगे ये सब घाटे में चले गये और गरीबी बढ़ती चली गई। होना यह चाहिये था, कि इस देश की योजना में, प्लानिंग में खेती को नंबर एक का दर्जा देना चाहिये था, लघु उद्योग को दूसरे नम्बर पर रखना चाहिये था और यदि आवश्यक हुआ हैवी इंडस्ट्री को बड़े उद्योगों को तीसरे नम्बर पर रखना चाहिये था लेकिन जो हमारे नियोजक लोग थे इन्होंने हैवी इंडस्ट्री को नम्बर एक पर कर दिया। हमारे प्लानर लघु उद्योगों के बारे में नहीं जानते थे और खेती की इन्होंने उपेक्षा की।

इस देश में सबसे पहले स्वर्गीय चौधरी चरण सिंह जी ने किसानों का सवाल उठाया और एक किताब लिखी "पावर्टी आफ इंडिया नीड सोल्यूशन" भारत की निर्धनता और इसका समाधान। चौधरी चरण सिंह जी ने उस किताब में लिखा कि जब तक देश का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ेगा, जमीन के अंदर से सामान नहीं निकाला जायेगा तब तक देश की तरक्की नहीं हो सकती, गरीबी दूर नहीं हो सकती, बेकारी दूर नहीं हो सकती।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी) पीठासीन हुए]

मान्यवर, आपके माध्यम से मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आज भी कमोबेश योजनाओं की स्थिति यह है कि हमारे विद्वान योजना मंत्री जी जिनकी सब लोग प्रशंसा कर रहे हैं, मैं भी प्रशंसा कर रहा हूं, अगर देश का उत्पादन आप नहीं बढ़ायेंगे तो आपकी सारी योजनाएं असफल हो जायेंगी।

दूसरी समस्या है इस देश की — ठीक है आप योजनाएं बना रहे हैं, जो योजनाओं के बनाने वाले लोग हैं, ये क्षमा करेंगे, मुझे कम यकीन है कि इनमें गांव की हालत कोई जानता है। सब किताब के आकंड़े है। रशिया की स्थिति, जापान की स्थिति और पाकिस्तान की स्थिति यह है, और गांवों के बारे में किसी को जानकारी नहीं कि गांव का दर्द क्या है। आज भी गांव में पीने का स्वच्छ जल नहीं मिल रहा है। खेतों को सिंचाई के लिए पानी नहीं मिल रहा है। जाड़े में लोग ठिठुर कर मर रहे हैं। क्या आपकी प्लानिंग है, क्या योजना है। 50 साल बीत गए हैं। सन् 1947 के आस पास जापान बरबाद कर दिया गया था एटमबम के गिराने से, इसी के आस-पास जब देश आजाद हुआ था आर्थिक क्रांति चाइना ने शुरू की ओर हम तथा पाकिस्तान एक साथ अलग हो गए। आप कम्पैरीजन कर लीजिए इन्ही तीन-चार मुल्कों से। क्या आपकी स्थिति बेहतर है? मैं यह कहने के लिए तैयार हूं कि आपकी स्थिति बेहतर नहीं है। इनके

मुकाबले में खराब है। योजनाएं आप सही ढंग से नहीं बना सकते हैं और अगर कुछ योजनाएं आपने बनायी है तो उनको सही ढंग से कार्यान्वित नहीं कर सके। कल प्रश्न था एक माननीय सदस्या का जो भारतीय जनता पार्टी की है, बहुत अच्छा प्रश्न था उनका कि सांसद स्थानीय क्षेत्र विकास योजना का जो पैसा जाता है, इनके जो प्रोजेक्ट्स होते हैं इनका कोई सुपरविजन नहीं होता है। मान्यवर, आप यहां से आदेश भेज देते है। मैंने देखा, मेरे पास जो सरकुलर आया है जिला लेविल पर कमेटियां बनाएंगे, ब्लाक लेविल पर कमेटियां बनाएंगे, संसद सदस्य भी उसमें प्रतिनिधि होंगे लेकिन आपके किसी आदेश का अनुपालन नहीं हो रहा है। कहीं कमेटियां नहीं बनी हैं। मैं यह बात कहना चाहता था यहां कि आप योजना बनाते है, मैं उन योजनाओं से सहमत नहीं हूं लेकिन फिर भी वे योजनाएं ठीक है, उनका कार्यान्वयन सही ढंग से नहीं हो पा रहा है मुझको स्मरण है और बहुत से माननीय सदस्य उस समय थे, हमारे नेता विरोधी दल भी उस समय में थे, इसी सदन में स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी ने कहा था कि योजना का हम सौ पैसा जो भेज रहे हैं उसका केवल, 15 पैसा गांव के गरीब के इस्तेमाल में आ रहा है और 85 पैसा बिचौलिए लोग खा जा रहे रहे हैं। मैं यह माननीय योजना मंत्री जी आपसे निवेदन करना चाहूंगा। ठीक है आप योजनाएं अच्छी बनाएंगे, देश को विकास की ओर ले जाने की बात करेंगे लेकिन अगर आपकी योजना की मानीटरिंग नहीं होगी, इनका सुपरविजन नहीं होगा और आप इनको' दखेंगे नहीं कि जो पैसा आप दे रहे है जो योजनाएं बना रहे हैं वे योजनाएं सही रूप से, कारगर ढंग से कार्यान्वित हो रही है कि नहीं हो रही हैं जिस काम के लिए दे रहे हैं वह पूरा हो रहा है कि नहीं हो रहा है तो कुछ नहीं होगा। आपका सांसद निधि वाले का इसी सदन में सवाल आया था कि हमारे सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय जी जो उस समय सदन के सदस्य थे, उनके खंड का पैसा इलाहाबाद के डी०एम० ने तनख्वाह में बांट दिया। योजनाएं पड़ी रह गयी। तो आप योजनाएं बनाकर क्या करेंगे। जिन योजनाओं को जो लागू करते हैं, इंप्लीमेंट करते हैं आपको उनके ऊपर कंट्रोल करना पड़ेगा। दूसरी बात मान्यवर.....

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी): ईश दत्त जी आप तो बिना घंटी के समाप्त करने वाले हैं।

श्री ईश दत्त यादव: बस अंतिम निवेदन है। अंतिम निवेदन कर रहा था कि इस देश के अंदर भूमि सुधार कानून लागू नहीं हुआ । जब तक इस देश के अंदर भूमि सुधार कानून लागू नहीं होगा आपकी कई पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं चलती रहेंगी और असफल होती रहेंगी। श्री स्वामीनाथन जी ने सही कहा था कि बेकारों की फौज खड़ी हो रही है। जितनी योजनाएं बनती चली जा रही है उतनी बेकारों की फौज खड़ी होती चली जा रही है। जब तक इस देश में आप भूमि सुधार का कानून लागू नहीं करेंगे तब तक इस देश का विकास नहीं होगा। इसलिए इसको आपको प्राथमिकता देनी पड़ेगी। जमींदारी एबालिशन — हिंदुस्तान के अंदर केवल उत्तर प्रदेश के अंदर हुआ। जेड०ए० एक्ट लागू केवल उत्तर प्रदेश के अंदर हुआ। स्वर्गीय चौधरी चरण सिंह जब वहां थे, माल मंत्री थे, रेवेन्यू मिनिस्टर थे उन्होंने वहां भूमि सुधार लागू किया। लेकिन पूरे देश में मैं समझता हूं कि भूमि सुधार कहीं लागू नहीं हुआ। आज देश के अंदर भू-माफिया पड़े हुए हैं। हजारों एकड़ भूमि कब्जा किए हुए हैं, कब्जा करते चले जा रहे हैं। हजारों एकड़ जमीन जब एक आदमी के पास रहेगी तो उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ेगा क्योंकि इस पृथ्वी की भी उत्पादन देने की क्षमता है। मैं अर्थशास्त्री नहीं हूं मैंने शुरू में ही कहा। लेकिन अर्थशास्त्री लोगों की जुबान से सुनता हूं कि ढाई एकड़ से कम और 27 एकड़ से ज्यादा की भूमि अगर एक आदमी के पास रहेगी तो उसकी उत्पादन क्षमता बढ़ेगी नहीं बल्कि उत्पादन क्षमता उसकी घटेगी क्योंकि वह पर्याप्त ढंग से न उसकी सिंचाई ही करेगा न उसमें खाद डालेगा न बीज डालेगा।

हजारों एकड़ जमीन लोग ले करके पड़े हुए है। क्या आपने कभी इस पर विचार किया है? पचास साल बीत गए। आप भूमि सुधार कानून को जब तक लागू नहीं करेंगे इस देश की दुर्गति होती रहेगी।

अंत में मान्यवर मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि आपका जो यह प्लानिंग कमीशन है, यह प्लानिंग कमीशन एक निष्पक्ष और स्वतंत्र संस्था होनी चाहिए, न कि सरकार की कठपुतली होनी चाहिए। सरकार की भावनाओं की अनुरूप चलने वाली यह संस्था नहीं होनी चाहिए। इस संस्था को बिल्कुल स्वतंत्र करना पड़ेगा। कृषि को प्राथमिकता देनी पड़ेगी, भूमि सुधार लागू करना पड़ेगा और तब जा करके आपकी योजनाएं कहीं सफल हो सकेगी।

मान्यवर, आपने समय दिया, बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI

TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Shri J. Chitharanjan. It is his maiden speech. He was a senior Minister in his State. He is new to this House.

SHRI J. CHITHARANJAN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. I am extremely happy to participate in a debate on a subject like this. I am also happy to find that adequate importance is being given to the planning and its implementation. In the Approach Paper they have already identified about eighteen serious weaknesses which have manifested or emerged during the implementation of the Eighth Plan and they are all very serious weaknesses. The Growth pattern has not benefited the poor. The investment in agricultural sector particularly towards irrigation potential has fallen short of targets. Availability of adequate basic infrastructural facilities like power, transport and communication has fallen signifcantly short of the targets not only in the Eighth Plan but also in the Seventh Plan primarily due to slower investment. Similarly employment generation has gone down. I do not want to repeat all those things, but very serious weaknesses have been pointed out. During the Eighth Plan period all of us knew about the new economic reforms. In the name of structural reforms, privatisation and market economy, these were implemented during the same period. That also got its impact on the working of this Plan. It is also responsible for these weaknesses. But in the Approach Paper I find that it has been mentioned that these reforms would be continued. That means the Planning Commission has not realised the impact of the economic policies in our developmental activities. They have not taken the responsibility for these weaknesses on account of economic reforms. If they go on like that it would not lead us anywhere. It is high time we thought about that policy. I feel several programmes will have to be changed, will have to be adapted strategically. Take for example, the question of resources. At present the policy that is being pursued, the development that is based on private capital, especially foreign capital and borrowed capital, would not in any way improved our conditions, our economy, therefore, we will have to think of raising our own resources. I do not say that we should not attract foreign investment or private investment. But, at the same time, we will have to give importance to raising our own resources to the extent possible. We talk of the economic miracle that is taking place in the South-Asian countries and even in China. Everybody knows that their saving rates are much higher than what we are having. Our saving rates are just ranging from 23 per cent to 26 per cent of the GDP whereas in the South-Asian countries or even in China, they are ranging between 30 per cent and 40 per cent. No consistent effort is being made for raising our own resources. That is one point I have to make.

In the same way, what has been our approach regarding taxation? If you look at the experience of the last several years, what is going on is, for the corporate sector, for the monied classes, relaxation is being given, reduction is being given, in taxes. That has been going on. They have benefited by tens of thousands of rupees by that. At the same time, in the case of the poor people, if some subsidies are being paid, they are being pointed out as the biggest danger and it should not have been so whereas in each Budget, more and more concessions are being given to the private capital, to the corporate sector, national or international. That is what is going on. If we want to raise resources, we will have to think of all these things also.

Another point is, everybody knows that there is immense black money, there is a parallel economy in this country. Previously, after the Mahalanobis report was presented, naturally, it was being discussed how to

get hold of black money. But now nobody is speaking about it, everybody is keeping silent about it. Shall we not think about getting over black money?

Another point is, certain American universities-two of them—have examined a study of economic experts there about India's export and import trade. They have come to the conclusion that by resorting to over-invoicing and under-invoicing in export trade and important trade, they are setting apart huge amounts of money which are being held up in the other countries. It will not, in any way, help us. No attempt is made to prevent these things. In fact, more and more opportunities are being created for them. I do not want to go into more details about them. My main point is that we will have to discuss these things and the strategies.

The next point I would like to make is about the question of time overrun and cost overrun. If you go through the statistics—owing to lack of time, I am not quoting the statistics—it is well known to us that several projects which might have been started in the Sixth Five-Year Plan or in the Seventh Five-Year Plan are still continuing and are yet to be completed. Nobody knows when they will be completed with the result that the time overrun naturally leads to cost overrun. The cost overrun may range from 25 per cent to 2640 per cent. If you go into the figures, you can see that. Time overrun does lead to cost overrun and 75 per cent of the cost overrun is due to the time overrun. Therefore, we will have to find a solution to that. When I went to China, I had a discussion with several people, representatives of Government as well as other people including some Indians who are residing there. Compared to our country, I found one peculiarity in China. They always try to complete a project before the schedule, ahead of the schedule...before the time schedule for that. They have cited so many examples. In the same way, they have also informed us about the setting up of projects. Suppose a project is being started—Tehri Dam or Narmada Dam—in India, in that case, tens of thousands of people are evacuated from there. Even after a lapse of five or six years from the commencement of the project, the question of provision for rehabilitation of those people who are evicted from the catchment area is not at all settled. In China, what I understood is that before they begin the construction of a project, the rehabilitation of those people who are being evicted, is settled before that. Therefore, they do not face that problem. But here, in respect of all projects, whether it is Tehri Dam or Narmada Dam, we are facing that problem. *(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): May I intervene, Sir?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Let him finish. It is his maiden speech.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I am sorry. I didn't realise that it is his maiden speech.

SHRI J. CHITHARANJAN: Then another thing I would like to say is about the 'CMP'. You know the present Government is very much committed to the 'CMP'. It is one of the very important programmes announced by the Government. I have gone through the annual report for the year 1996-97. Nothing has been said in the report about the said programme. How far has it progressed? It has been stated there that in the month of July last year, the Chief Ministers' meeting was held, and in that meeting it was decided that an action plan—time—oriented as well as result—oriented—will have to be chalked out and implemented, according to the schedule. I do not know whether anything has been done. But in the Approach Paper, I find that for this scheme, in all the years during the Ninth Plan, that means, up to 2002 AD, they will provide money for implementing

these schemes. There is a contradiction. In the 'CMP', what is committed is that these programmes will be implemented by 2000 A.D. There is a commitment. It is a solemn commitment made by the Government. In the Approach Paper, it is being said that in the next five years, a provision will be made for these schemes. There is a contradiction. If it so happens, it will be a very sorry state of affairs.

Secondly, seven minimum-needs programmes are there. Of course, they are not all revolutionary programmes. But these programmes will have to be implemented on a countrywide scale, in the towns as well as in the remote areas. Taking into account its magnitude, it is a very big programme and a large amount of money, men and resources are required for this purpose. Unless a definite action plan is being prepared for every State deciding that in each year, the target will be such and such and they will have to be fulfilled, this programme cannot be implemented by 2,000 A.D. If we continue like this, I don't have any doubt that it will remain on paper without being implemented. Therefore, that will have to be taken into account.

Thirdly, one of the main drawbacks is that we have been neglecting the major infrastructural sector-power, railways, ports, tele-communications. During the Eighth Five Year Plan when the Draft Plan was prepared, what was proposed was that about 40,000 megawatts' generating capacity will have to be duly raised. But by the time the Plan was finalised, it came down to 30,583 megawatts.

SHRI J. CHITHARANJAN: Now when the Plan is complete, not even 50 per cent of it is over. What a sorry state of affairs. You look at the whole country. Except for two or three States like West Bengal or Maharashtra, all the other States are reeling under a very heavy shortage of electricity. We have failed to utilise even the existing capacity in our industries. From State to State, the percentage may differ. But it has become a hindrance. We are not able to utilis the existing production capacity. This also hinders further economic development. We have to give more importance to infrastructure development. I am not talking of power alone. We have to take this up on a war-footing. The same is the case with transport. If you take into account the condition of ports—major ports—55 to 60 vessels, you will find will be waiting for getting berths. What a pitiable state it is!

Therefore, we will have to give importance to infrastructure development. We should have definite plans to create adequate infrastructural facilities by the end of the 9th Plan and it should not be extended beyond that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): You will have to sum up your points because the Minister has to go.

SHRI J. CHITHARANJAN: Therefore, my suggestion is that the reform programmes will have to be reviewed. Secondly, we will have to give more importance to creating adequate infrastructural facilities. Then we will have to see that targets are fully achieved. Regarding the CMP, it should be fully implemented by 2000 AD as promised. With these words I conclude.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी): श्री मोहम्मद मसूद खानः खान साहब, आप तो बहुत ही मुख्तसर में कहेंगे, शेर-ओ-शायरी में कहेंगे न.

श्री मोहम्मद मसूद खान (उत्तर प्रदेश): जितने समय का आप हुक्म देंगे उससे एक मिनट पहले खत्म कर दूंगा.

[*]श्री मोहम्मद मसूद खां: जितने समय का आप हुक्म देंगे उस से एक मिनट पहले खत्म कर दूंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी): पांच मिनट में खत्म कर दीजिए।

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*[] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

श्री मोहम्मद मसूद खानः सदर साहब, इसमें कोई शुबहा नहीं कि यह एक ऐसा मौजू है, जिसमें शेर-ओ-शायरी भी भूल जाती है।

किसी मुल्क को तरक्की के रास्ते पर लाने के वास्ते तीन चीजें बहुत जरूरी हैं — एक तो सही प्लानिंग हो, समयबद्ध काम हो और बगैर करप्शन के हो। हमें तीनों के नज़रिए में देखना पड़ेगा कि वाकई यहां प्लानिंग सही है? मैं सरकार में भी कुछ साल पहले रहा हूं, कभी-कभी पोलिटकल दबाव में प्लानिंग हो जाती है, उसको मैं सही प्लानिंग नहीं मानता हूं बल्कि मुल्क की जरूरत और तकाज़ों के ऐतबार से जो प्लानिंग हो, उसको मैं सही प्लानिंग मानता हूं. पांच प्लान बने, मैंने यह भी देखा है कि एक तरफ से ज्यादा जोरदार आदमी थे तो पहले वहां ज्यादा धन चला गया और दूसरी तरफ के उससे ज्यादा जोरदार हुए तो वह धन कटकर उस तरफ चला गया, यह सब सही प्लानिंग नहीं है। एक-एक आइटम की प्लानिंग होनी चाहिए। हम यह नहीं कहते कि हमारे देश के प्लानर किसी दूसरे देश के प्लानरों से कम हैं, लेकिन हम यह मशिवरा देंगे कि वह बाहर के मुल्कों के प्लानिंग को भी देखें और उसको समझें कि वे कैसे प्लानिंग करते हैं। मैं एक मिसाल देना चाहता हूं कि सिंगापुर के पास इतना पैसा नहीं है कि वह सही प्लानिंग कर सके, लेकिन उसने सही प्लानिंग की। उसने फर्स्ट स्टेज पर लिया कि हम किसी को बेघर नहीं रहने देंगे, लिहाज़ा घर की प्लानिंग की और घर की इस तरह से प्लानिंग की कि एक मोहल्ले के इतने बोसीदा खराब मकान थे जहां के, मैंने वहां देखे थे हिन्दुस्तान के खराब मकानों से भी खराब थे, उन्होंने उनका इवेल्यूशन कर लिया और उसके बाद बाहर के एजेंसी को बुलाया कि तुम 70×70 फ्लेट बनाओ। उसके पास पैसा नहीं था, उसने उस एजेंसी से कहा कि अपना पैसा लगाओ, 50 साल तक 50 परसैंट के मालिक तुम रहोगे या जो भी तय हो जाए।

इस तरह से दूसरे के रुपये से अच्छे घर उनको मिल गए। एक हफ्ते तक मैं वहां रात-दिन सड़कों पर चलता रहा कि कोई आदमी मुझको फुटपाथ पर सोता हुआ मिल जाए लेकिन एक भी आदमी फुटपाथ पर सोता हुआ नहीं मिला। तो इस तरह से एक आईटम आप ले लें उसको पूरा कर दें लेकिन सही प्लानिंग जरूर करें। अगर प्लानिंग सही नहीं है, समयबद्ध नहीं है तो कुछ तरक्की नहीं हो सकती।

सदर साहब, वक्त बहुत कम है आपके पास भी और हमारे पास भी। इसलिए मैं गुजारिश करना चाहता हूं कि समयबद्ध काम के वास्ते यहां सेक्रेटेरियट से देखना पड़ेगा कि समयबद्ध काम हो रहा है कि नहीं। एम०पी० लोकल ऐरिया डेवलपमेंट फंड के लिए दिसंबर के बाद पैसा जाता है और उसके बाद पूरा साल गुजर जाता है, काम शुरू नहीं होता। प्लान बनता रहता है, ऐस्टीमेट वगैरह आते हैं लेकिन काम शुरू नहीं होता। मंत्री जी यह देखें कि जो भी पैसा सैक्शन होता है, वह वहां जाए। मान लीजिए कि अभी यह मजबूरी है कि आपका बजट पास नहीं हुआ लेकिन बजट पास होने के बाद पैसा यहां क्यों रखा रहता है? वह पैसा समय से स्टेट क्यों नहीं जाता और स्टेट समय से अपने जिलों के अंदर एक पैसा क्यों नहीं भेजता ताकि समय पर काम हो सके?

महोदय, मैं यू०पी० से आता हूं, वहां पी०डब्लू०डी० का हाल यह है कि उन्होंने कहा कि हमको तो कोई भी काम करने के वास्ते 3 साल चाहिए, 45 परसेंट एक साल में करेंगे, 45 परसेंट दूसरे साल में करेंगे और बाकी तीसरे साल में करेंगे कि, अगर काम समय से शुरू हो गया तो। वह तो स्टेट की दूसरी मजबूरी है लेकिन एम०पी० लोकल डेवलपमेंट फंड की कोई मजबूरी नहीं है। धन चला जाता है तो साल भर के अंदर काम क्यों नहीं होता? यह बिल्डिंग और कंस्ट्रक्शन का काम हो ऐसा है कि एक साल रोक दीजिए, 15 परसेंट इसकी कॉस्ट बढ़ जाएगी। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि समयबद्ध काम कराइए और सही प्लानिंग कराइए।

महोदय, करप्शन का जहां तक ताल्लुक है, मैंने कई चिट्ठियां लिखी हैं कि एक भी काम बगैर ठेकेदार के नहीं हो रहा है और फर्जी रिपोर्ट आ रही है कि इतने लोगों को काम दे दिया वाक्या यह है कि मरहूम राजीव गांधी जी ने कहा था कि 100 रुपए में से 15 रुपय भी गांवों में नहीं पहुंचते। मंत्री जी यह बताएं कि 15 रुपय से बढ़ा पाए हैं या नहीं? मेरे ख्याल से घटा पाए हैं, बढ़ा नहीं पाए हैं। फर्जी रिपोर्ट आती है, मस्टर रोल पर लिखा जाता है, वही ठेकेदार जिले के अंदर 15—20 परसेंट पैसा एजेंसी को देकर ठेका ले लेते हैं और जिले में घूम-घूमकर काम करत हैं। मैंने यहां तक लिखा आपके डिपार्टमेंट को कि मैं साथ चलूंगा और दिखाऊंगा कि कैसे यह गलत काम होता है लेकिन कुछ सुनवाई नहीं हुई। इसलिए मेरी गुज़ारिश है कि समयबद्ध काम होना चाहिए। और बगैर करप्शन के होना चाहिए करप्शन इस वक्त चरम सीमा पर है।

महोदय, मॉनीटरिंग का सिस्टम यह है कि जिले में अगर कोई काम खराब हो रहा है चाहे हमारे फंड से, चाहे दूसरे फंड से तो हम कंप्लेंट करते हैं और कोई

आदमी जरूर जाता है उसको देखने के लिए लेकिन वह आदमी जिसके खिलाफ कंप्लेंट रहती है, वह सबोर्डिनेट होता है, तो वह क्या करेगा? इसलिए मैंने लिखा है कि आपकी मिनिस्ट्री को कि आप किसी दूसरे अधिकारी को भेजिए। आपके यहां प्रोविजन यह है कि आप यहां से स्टेट को लिखेंगे, स्टेट फिर जिला मुख्यालय को लिखेगा और जिला मुख्यालय, जिस व्यक्ति के खिलाफ शिकायत है, उसके नीचे के अफसर को वहां भेजेगा जांच करने के लिए और फिर रिपोर्ट आएगी कि बिल्कुल सही काम हुआ है। इसलिए मैं गुजारिश कर रहा हूं कि अभी बिल्डिंग बनी नहीं है आपके पैसे से और क्रैक हो गई। अब हम लोग क्या कप्लेंट करें? हम लोगों का हाल तो वही है कि-

'खुद ही कातिल, खुद ही मुंसिफ और खुद जल्लाद भी,
अकरबा मेरे खून का दावा किस पर करें।

किससे फरियाद करें? फरियाद का कागज जिसके यहां आता है, वही जांच करने वाला है और वही काम खराब करने वाला है।

एक और चीज की गुज़ारिश मैं करना चाहता हूं कि यह किसान प्रधान देश है, यहां किसानों के बारे में प्लानिंग होनी चाहिए कि ये कैसे तरक्की करेंगे। मैं भी किसान हूं। मैंने इस साल गन्ना बोया था। गन्ना बोने से लेकर मिल तक पहुंचाने में जितनी दुश्वारी मुझे हुई, मैं कह नहीं सकता। मैंने यह प्लान बनाया था कि अगले साल मैं आलू बोऊंगा। अब आलू की हालत यह है कि जिस सड़क पर चले जाइए यू०पी० में, रास्ता नहीं मिल रहा है क्योंकि आलू रखने की जगह नहीं है। तो कोई तो प्लानिंग होनी चाहिए। कैश क्रॉप कोई तो दीजिए आप यू०पी० के किसानों को। आप दूसरे देशों में जाइए। मैं मलेशिया गया हूं। मलेशिया वैसा ही देश है जैसा हिंदुस्तान है। वहां के बहुत से लोग खेती करते हैं। मैंने उनसे पूछा कि आप धान कहां रखते हैं?

हमने कहा कि क्या मतलब। उन्होंने कहा कि हमारे यहां की प्लानिंग यह है कि हमने जो धान बोया उसकी कीमत रखकर सरकार ने खरीद लिया और हमारा राशन कार्ड है। उस राशन कार्ड पर सब्सडाईज्ड रेट पर हमको चावल मिला। तो हमको चूहा, बिल्ली और कुत्तों को खिलाने की क्या जरूरत है। दूसरी चीज, जो मुझको वहां बहुत पसंद आई। मैं यू०पी० में कुछ दिन तक रेवेन्यू मिनिस्टर था। काश उससे पहले गया होता, देखा होता। दूसरी चीज पसंद आई कि अगर हम अपने खेत का बयनामा करना चाहते हैं तो यहां रजिस्ट्री कराने जाते हैं। रजिस्ट्री से फिर अमल-दरामद होगी और साल दो साल लग जाएंगे। वहां सिर्फ ट्रांसफर का एक कायदा है कि हम किताब लेकर चले गए उसमें हमारा नाम लिखा है। वहां एक अधिकारी बैठा है। उसने हमारी किताब में से नम्बर और रक्बा निकाल दिया और उसकी किताब में वह नम्बर और रक्बा चढ़ा दिया। क्यों नहीं वहां ऐसा करते हैं? यह यहां क्यों नहीं हो रहा है। ऐसा मालूम हो रहा है कि यहां ब्यूरोक्रेसी की मिलीभगत है कि हम सब को फायदा पहुंचाएं। वह भी देश के लोग है। हम सब लोगों को मिलकर यह सोचना चाहिए कि जो भी प्रोब्लम है उसे दूर किया जाना चाहिए।

सदर साहब, गन्ना कितनी ठंडक और कितनी गरमी में पैदा किया जाता है। वह लोग इसकी कीमत रखेंगे जिनको फाईव स्टार होटल में बैठकर सोचना है। उनको क्या पता कि उसके जोतने, बोने और काटने में कितनी गरमी, सरदी सहनी पड़ती है, कितनी लू सहनी पड़ती है, कितनी ठंडक सहनी पड़ती है। हमारे पूर्व में कहा जाता है-

जिसके न फाटे पैर बिवाई,
वह क्या जाने पीर पराई।"

जब तक वह आदमी जमीन पर लू वगैरह बर्दास्त नहीं करेगा तब तक जाकर उसको अहसास नहीं होगा कि कितनी मेहनत हो रही है, कितनी मसक्कत करनी पड़ रही है, कितनी मेहनत करनी पड़ रही है। मैं दो-तीन मशवरा देना चाहता हूं। शर्म की बात है कि हम किसी काम के लिए बाहर की एजेंसी को बुलाएं। लेकिन अगर इस मुल्क के लोग जिनको इम्पलीमेंट करना है, इस मुल्क को रिश्वत और करप्शन में रुपया बरबाद कर रहे हैं तो दूसरे देश जैसे सिंगापुर, मलेशिया वगैरह में मैंने देखा है कि कर्ज का रुपया जो देश देता है उसी को कह दीजिए भौतिक तौर से इतना बनाकर हमको दें। जैसे बिल्डिंग है। उन्होंने कहा कि सौ बाई सौ का इतना कर्ज हम आपको देंगे। तो वह कहते हैं नहीं, वह सौ बाई सौ की बिल्डिंग बनाकर आप कम रुपया में दे दो। यह शर्म की बात है। अगर यहां के लोग कोआपरेट नहीं कर रहे हैं हम उनसे भी अपील करना चाहते हैं कि अब भी वक्त है कि इस देश को ऊपर उठाने में कोआपरेट करें और करप्शन का जो नया मुद्दा निकाल रहे हैं और करप्शन में जो सारा रुपया बरबाद कर रहे हैं वह बरबाद नहीं करें। लेकिन अगर वह नहीं मानते तो जिससे आप कर्ज लेकर सूद बढ़ा रहे हैं उससे कह दीजिए, यहां आकर निर्माण का काम करें तब शायद हमको कुछ शर्म आए और यह तैयार हों कि आप बाहर के लोगों को

नहीं बुलाइए। हालांकि हम इसको शर्म की बात कहते हैं। यह भी कोई बात हुई कि बिल्डिंग अभी हैंड ओवर नहीं हुई, बिल्डिंग फट गई। हमने कम्प्लेंड किया है कोई देखने नहीं जा रहा है कि बिल्डिंग कैसे बनी है और क्यों ऐसी बनी है। एक मर्तबा सजा आप दे दीजिए किसी को, मुझे पूरा भरोसा है कि करप्शन की वजह से काम खराब नहीं होगा।

हम एक जगह मेंबर हैं, उसकी मीटिंग होती रहती है। लेकिन सबसे ज्यादा आजमगढ़ में सात एम०पी० हैं। जब कोई हम लोग सुझाव देते हैं और जब वोटिंग की नौबत आती है तो हम सब लोग चुप हो जाते हैं इस वजह से वहां एम०एल०ए० सात से ज्यादा हैं। आप इस बात को भी सोचिए तथा हम लोगों का भी सुझाव माना जाए। वहां हम बिल्कुल मॉयनोरिटी दर मॉयनोरिटी हुए जा रहे हैं। वहां हमें धमकी देनी पड़ती है कि अगर हमारा सुझाव इम्पलीमेंट नहीं करेंगे तो हमको रहने की जरुरत नहीं है, हम मीटिंग में नहीं आएंगे। इसको आप खुद देखिए। इस चीज को आप देख लीजिए किसी एक जिले में चले जाइए। मैं आपसे सच कहता हूं कि अगर आप चाहते हैं कि आपकी मिनिस्ट्री ठीक रहे तो किसी सूबे के किसी जिले में चले जाइए। आपने जो कागजी डायरैक्शन दिया है, अच्छा दिया है लेकिन उसका अगर दस परसेंट अमल हो रहा है तो आप मुतमुईन हो जाइए। यह फर्जी रिपोर्ट आ रही है कि एक हजार लेबर को हमने काम दिया है और वही लेबर पूरे जिले में काम कर रही है। ऐसी फर्जी रिपोर्ट बनाने वालों को आप पनिश कर दीजिए। एक मर्तबा आपने ऐसा किया तो आपका काम ठीक हो जाएगा और मुल्क की, देश की तरक्की होगी। उसके बाद ऐसी फर्जी रिपोर्ट आनी बंद हो जाएगी। इसी सुझाव के साथ मैं ...(**व्यवधान**)...

एक माननीय सदस्यः एक आखिरी शेर कह दीजिए।

श्री मोहम्मद मसूद खानः आखिरी शेर तो भूल जाता हूं.....। ...(**व्यवधान**)...तो यही गुजारिश है कि...

एक माननीय सदस्यः पढ़ दीजिए, एक शेर पढ़ दीजिए।

श्री मोहम्मद मसूद खानः जब पुलिस का बजट आएगा, तब कहेंगे।

मौलाना औबेदुल्ला खान आज़मी (बिहार)**:** यही पढ़ दीजिए कि:

बरगे हिना पे लिखता हूं मैं दरदे दिल की बात।
शायद कि रफ़्ता-रफ़्ता लगे दिलरूबा के हाथ।।

श्री मोहम्मद मसूद खानः हम दो आदमी मिलकर बोल रहे हैं। हमारे ईश दत्त यादव जी ने जो कहा, तो वाकया यह है कि कभी-कभी जब लॉ ऐंड ऑर्डर खराब होता है तो हमको यह शेर जरूर याद आता है। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

एक माननीय सदस्यः प्लानिंग में गड़बड़ हो गयी। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री मोहम्मद मसूद खानः प्लानिंग में जरूर गड़बड़ हो गयी है। तो शेर याद है, वह कहूंगा नहीं। शेर का दूसरा मिसरा कह देता हूं।

महलों में उजाला है, कुटिया में स्याही है।
महसूस हमें होता है, यह दौर तबाही है।
शीशे की अदालत है, पत्थर की गवाही है।।

*[]श्री मुहम्मद मसूद खां (तिरुपति) صدر صاحب - اسمیں کوئی شبہہ نہیں کہ یہ ایک ایسا موضوع ہے جسمیں شعر و شاعری بھی بھول جاتی ہے -

کسی ملک کو ترقی کے راستے پر لانے کیلئے تین چیزیں ضروری ہیں - ایک تو صحیح پلاننگ ہو - وقت کی پابندی کے ساتھ کام ہو - اور بغیر کرپشن کے ہو - میں ان تینوں کے نظریہ میں دیکھتا ہوں گا کہ واقعی یہاں پلاننگ صحیح ہے - میں سرکار میں بھی کچھ سال رہا ہوں - کبھی کبھی "پولیٹیکل دباؤ" میں بھی پلاننگ ہو جاتی ہے - اسکو میں صحیح پلاننگ نہیں مانتا ہوں - بلکہ ملک کی ضرورت اور وقت کے تقاضوں کے اعتبار سے جو پلاننگ ہو اسکو میں صحیح پلاننگ مانتا ہوں - پانچ پلان بنے - میں نے یہ بھی دیکھا ہے کہ ایک طرف کے زیادہ زور دار آدمی تھے تو بجٹ وہاں زیادہ دھن چلا لیا اور دوسری طرف سے اس سے زیادہ زور دار ہوئے تو وہ دھن لیکر اس

*[] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

لیکن صحیح پلاننگ ضرور کریں۔ اگر پلاننگ صحیح نہیں ہے "سب بڑھ" نہیں تو کچھ ترقی نہیں ہو سکتی۔

صدر صاحب۔ وقت بہت کم ہے آپ کے پاس بھی ہمارے پاس بھی۔ اس لئے میں گزارش کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ "سب بڑھ" کام کے واسطے یہاں سیکریٹری ایٹ سے دیکھنا پڑے گا کہ "سب بڑھ" کام ہو رہا ہے نہیں۔ ایم۔ پی۔ لوکل ایریا ڈیولپمنٹ فنڈ کیلئے دسمبر کے بعد پیسہ جاتا ہے اور اسکے بعد پورا سال گزر جاتا ہے کام شروع نہیں ہوتا منتری جی یہ دیکھیں کہ جو بھی پیسہ سینکشن ہوتا ہے وہ وہاں جائے۔ مان لیجئے کہ ابھی یہ مجبوری ہے کہ آپکا بجٹ پاس نہیں ہوا لیکن بجٹ پاس ہونے کے بعد پیسہ یہاں کیوں رکھا جاتا ہے۔ وہ پیسہ سیدھے اسٹیٹس کو کیوں نہیں جاتا اور اسٹیٹ سے اپنے ضلعوں کے اندر وہ پیسہ کیوں نہیں بھیجتی تاکہ وقت پر کام ہو سکے۔

میں یو۔ پی سے آتا ہوں وہاں پی۔ ڈبلیو۔ ڈی۔ کا حال یہ ہے کہ انھوں نے کہا کہ سڑک تو کوئی بھی کام کرنے کے واسطے ۳ سال چاہئیں۔ ۵۰ پرسنٹ ایک سال میں کریں گے۔ ۵۰ پرسنٹ دوسرے سال میں کریں گے اور باقی تیسرے سال میں کریں گے اگر کام سمے سے شروع ہو گیا تو۔ وہ تو اسٹیٹ کی دوسری مجبوری ہے لیکن

طرف چلا گیا۔ یہ سب صحیح پلاننگ نہیں ہے۔ ایک ایک آئیٹم کی پلاننگ ہونی چاہئے۔ ہم یہ نہیں کہتے کہ ہمارے دیش کے پلان کسی دوسرے دیش کے پلانوں سے کم ہیں۔ لیکن ہم یہ مشورہ دیتے ہیں کہ وہ باہر کے ملکوں کی پلاننگ کو بھی دیکھیں اور اسکو سمجھیں کہ وہ کیسے پلاننگ کرتے ہیں۔ میں ایک مثال دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ سنگاپور کے پاس اتنا پیسہ نہیں ہے کہ وہ صحیح پلاننگ کر سکے۔ لیکن اسنے صحیح پلاننگ کی۔ اسنے فرسٹ اسٹیج پر لیا کہ ہم کسی کو بے گھر نہیں رہنے دینگے۔ لہٰذا گھر کی پلاننگ کی اور گھر کی اسطرح سے پلاننگ کی کہ ایک محلے کے اتنے بوسیدہ اور خراب مکان تھے وہاں کے۔ میں نے وہاں دیکھے تھے ممبئی شہر کے خراب مکانوں سے بھی خراب مکان تھے انھوں نے انکا "ڈی ویلپمنٹ" کر لیا اور اسکے بعد باہر کی ایجنسی کو بلایا کہ ہم ۷۰×۷۰ کے فلیٹ بنائیں۔ اسکے پاس پیسہ نہیں تھا اس نے اس ایجنسی سے کہا کہ اپنا پیسہ لگاؤ ۵۰ سال تک پھر اس فیملی کے مالک تم رہو گے یا جو بھی ہو جائے۔ اسطرح سے دوسرے کے روپیہ سے اچھے گھر انکو مل گئے۔ ایک ہفتے تک میں وہاں رات دن سڑکوں پر چلتا رہا کہ کوئی آدمی مجھکو فٹ پاتھ پر سوتا ہوا مل جائے لیکن ایک بھی آدمی فٹپاتھ پر سوتا ہوا نہیں ملا۔ تو اسطرح سے ایک آئیڈیم آپ لیں اور اسکو پورا کریں

مہودے - مانیٹرنگ کا سسٹم یہ ہے کہ ضلع میں اگر کوئی کام خراب ہو رہا ہے - چاہے ہمارے فنڈ سے - چاہے دوسرے فنڈ سے تو ہم کمپلینٹ کرتے ہیں اور کوئی آدمی ضرور جاتا ہے اسکو دیکھنے کیلئے لیکن وہ آدمی جسکے خلاف کمپلینٹ رہتی ہے اسکا وہ "سب آرڈینیٹ" ہوتا ہے تو وہ کیا کرے گا - اسلئے میں نے لکھا ہے آپکی منسٹری کو کہ آپ کسی دوسرے ادھیکاری کو بھیجئے - آپکے یہاں پر وہ زن ہے کہ آپ یہاں سے اسیٹ کو لکھیں گے - اسیٹ پھر ضلع مکھیا لیہ کو لکھے گا اور ضلع مکھیا لیہ جس آدمی کے خلاف شکایت ہے اسکے نیچے کے افسر کو وہاں بھیجیگا جانچ کرنے کیلئے اور پھر رپورٹ آئیگی کہ صحیح کام ہوا ہے - اسلئے میں گزارش کر رہا ہوں کہ ابھی بلڈنگ بنی نہیں ہے - آپکے پیسے سے اور ٹریک ہو گئی - اب ہم لوگ کیا کمپلینٹ کریں - "خود ہی قاتل خود ہی منصف اور خود ہی جلاد بھی اقربا میرے کریں خون کا دعویٰ کس پر" کس سے فریاد کریں - فریاد کا کاغذ جسکے یہاں جاتا ہے وہی جانچ کرنے والا ہے اور وہی کام خراب کرنے والا ہے -

ایک اور چیز کی گزارش میں کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ کسان پردھان دیش ہے یہاں کسانوں کے بارے میں پلاننگ ہونی چاہئے کہ یہ کیسے ترقی کرینگے - میں بھی کسان ہوں - میں نے اس سال گنا بویا تھا - گنا بونے سے لیکر ایم - پی لوکل ڈیولپمنٹ فنڈ کی کوئی مجبوری نہیں ہے - دھن چلا جاتا ہے تو سال بھر کے اندر کام کیوں نہیں ہوتا - یہ بلڈنگ اور کنسٹرکشن کا کام تو ایسا ہے کہ ایک سال روک دیجئے تو 15 پرسینٹ اسکی کاسٹ بڑھ جائیگی اسلئے میرا نویدن ہے کہ "جسے بردھ" کام کرا لیجئے اور صحیح پلاننگ کر لیجئے -

مہودے - کرپشن کا جہاں تک تعلق ہے - میں نے کئی چٹھیاں لکھی ہیں کہ ایک بھی کام بغیر ٹھیکیدار کے نہیں ہو رہا ہے اور فرضی رپورٹ آ رہی ہے کہ اتنے لوگوں کو کام دے دیا - سچ تو یہ ہے کہ مرحوم راجیو گاندھی جی نے جو کہا تھا کہ 100 روپئے میں سے 15 روپیہ گاؤں میں نہیں پہنچتے - منتری جی یہ بتائیں کہ 15 روپیہ سے بڑھایا جائے ہیں یا نہیں - میرے خیال سے گھٹایا جائے ہیں - بڑھایا نہیں جائے ہیں - فرضی رپورٹ آتی ہے - مسٹر رول پر لکھا جاتا ہے - وہی ٹھیکیدار ضلع کے اندر 15-20 پرسنٹ پیسے اجنسی کو دے کر ٹھیکہ لے لیتے ہیں اور ضلع میں گھوم گھوم کر کام کرتے ہیں - میں نے یہاں تک لکھا آپکے ڈیپارٹمنٹ کو کہ میں ساتھ چلوں گا اور دکھاؤں گا کہ کیسے یہ غلط کام ہوتا ہے - لیکن کچھ سنوائی نہیں ہوتی ہے - اسلئے میری گزارش ہے کہ "جسے بردھ" کام ہونا چاہئے اور بغیر کرپشن کے ہونا چاہئے - کرپشن اسوقت چرم سیما پر ہے -

لکھا ہے وہاں ایک اوھیکاری بیٹھا ہے۔ اسنے ہماری کتاب میں سے نمبر اور رقبہ نکال دیا اور اسکی کتاب میں وہ نمبر اور رقبہ چڑھا دیا۔ لیکن نہیں یہاں ایسا کرتے ہیں۔ یہ یہاں کیوں نہیں ہو رہا ہے۔ ایسا معلوم ہو رہا ہے کہ یہاں بیوروکریسی کی ملی بھگت ہے کہ ہم سب کو فائدہ پہنچائیں۔ وہ بھی اس دیش کے لوگ ہیں۔ ہم سب لوگوں کو ملکر یہ سوچنا چاہیئے کہ جو بھی پرابلم ہے اسے دور کیا جانا چاہیئے۔

صدر صاحبہ۔ گنّا کتنی ٹھنڈک اور کتنی گرمی میں پیدا ہوتا ہے۔ وہ لوگ اسکی قیمت رکھیں گے جنکو "فائیو اسٹار ہوٹل" میں بیٹھکر سوچنا ہے۔ انکو کیا پتہ کہ اسکے جوتنے بونے اور کاٹنے میں کتنی گرمی۔ سردی سہنی پڑتی ہے۔ کتنی لو سہنی پڑتی ہے۔ کتنی ٹھنڈک سہنی پڑتی ہے۔

ہمارے پورب میں کہا جاتا ہے۔۔۔۔

جسکو نہ پھٹے پیر بوائی
وہ کیا جانے پیر پرائی

جب تک وہ آدمی زمین پر ہو وغیرہ برداست نہیں کرے گا تب تک جاکر اسکو احساس نہیں ہوگا کہ کتنی محنت ہو رہی ہے۔ میں دو تین مشورے دینا چاہتا ہوں۔ شرم کی بات ہے کہ ہم کسی کام کیلئے باہر کی ایجنسی کو بلاتے ہیں۔ لیکن اگر اس ملک کے لوگ جنکو امپلیمنٹ کرنا ہے۔ اس ملک کو ڈشوٹ مل تک پہنچانے میں جتنی دشواری مجھے ہوئی میں کہہ نہیں سکتا۔ میں نے یہ پلان بنایا تھا کہ اگلے سال میں آلو بوؤنگا۔ اب آلو کی حالت یہ ہے کہ جس سڑک پر چلے جایئے یو۔پی۔ میں راستہ نہیں مل رہا ہے کیونکہ آلو رکھنے کی جگہ نہیں ہے۔ تو کوئی تو چلا لننگ ہونی چاہیئے "کیش کراپ" کی تو دیجئے آپ یو۔پی۔ کے کسانوں کو۔ آپ دوسرے دیشوں میں جایئے۔ میں ملیشیا گیا ہوں ملیشیا ویسا ہی دیش ہے جیسا ھندوستان ہے۔ وہاں کے بہت سے لوگ تحقیق کرتے ہیں۔ ہم نے کہا کہ کیا مطلب ہے انھوں نے کہا کہ ہمارے یہاں کی پلاننگ یہ ہے کہ ہم نے جو دھان بویا اسکی قیمت رکھکر سرکار نے خرید لیا اور ہمارا راشن کارڈ ہے اس راشن کارڈ پر سبسیڈائزڈ ریٹ کہ ہم کو چاول ملا۔ تو ہمکو چوتھا۔ بلّی اور کتوں کو کھانے کی کیا ضرورت ہے۔ دوسری چیز جو مجھکو وہاں بہت پسند آئی۔ میں یو۔پی۔ میں کچھ دن تک "ریونیو منسٹر" تھا۔ کاش اس سے پہلے گیا ہوتا۔ دیکھا ہوتا۔ دوسری چیز پسند آئی کہ اگر ہم اپنے ملکیت کا بیعنامہ کرانا چاہتے ہیں تو یہاں رجسٹری کرانے جاتے ہیں۔ رجسٹری سے پھر عمل درآمد ہوگی اور سال دو سال لگ جائینگے۔ وہاں صرف ٹرانسفر کا ایک قاعدہ ہے کہ ہم کتاب لیکر چلے گئے اسمیں ہمارا نام

بھروسہ ہے کہ کرپشن کی وجہ سے کام خراب نہیں ہوگا۔

آپنے جو کاغذی ڈائرکشن دیا ہے۔ اچھا دیا ہے۔ لیکن اسکا اگر دس پرسنٹ عمل ہو رہا ہو تو آپ مطمئن ہو جایئے۔ یہ فرضی رپورٹ آرہی ہے کہ ایک ہزار لیبر کو ہم نے کام دیا ہے اور وہی لیبر پورے ضلع میں کام کر رہی ہے۔ ایسی فرضی رپورٹ بنانے والوں کو آپ "پنش" کر دیجئے۔ ایک مرتبہ آپنے ایسا کیا تو آپکا کام ٹھیک ہو جائیگا اور ملک کی ترقی ہوگی۔ اسکے بعد ایسی فرضی رپورٹ آنی بند ہو جائینگی۔ اسی سمجھاؤ کے ساتھ میں ... "مداخلت" ...

ایک مانفیہ سعید سعید: ایک آخری شعر لکھ دیجئے۔

شری محمد مسعود خان: آخری شعر تو بول جاتا ہوں ... تو یہی گزارش ہے کہ ...

ایک مانفیہ سعید: پڑھ دیجئے ایک شعر پڑھ دیجئے۔

شری محمد مسعود خان: جو پولیس کا بجٹ آئے گا تب بتائینگے۔

اور کرپشن میں روپیہ برباد کر رہے ہیں تو دوسرے دیشوں جیسے سنگاپور، ملیشیا وغیرہ میں میں نے دیکھا ہے کہ قرض کا روپیہ جو دیش دیتا ہے اسی کو کہہ دیجئے "تھوک طور سے" اتنا بنا ہمکو دیں۔ جیسے بلڈنگ ہے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ سو بائی سو کا اتنا قرض ہم آپکو دینگے تو وہ کہتے ہیں کہ نہیں وہ سو بائی سو کی بلڈنگ بنا کر آپ ہم روپیہ میں دے دو۔ یہ شرم کی بات ہے۔ اگر یہاں کے لوگ کو آپریٹ نہیں کر رہے ہیں ہم ان سے بھی اپیل کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ اب بھی وقت ہے کہ اس دیش کو اوپر اٹھانے میں کو آپریٹ کریں اور کرپشن کا جو نیا مدا نکال رہے ہیں اور کرپشن میں جو سارا روپیہ برباد کر رہے ہیں وہ برباد نہیں کریں۔ لیکن اگر وہ نہیں مانتے تو جس سے آپ قرض لیکر سود بڑھا رہے ہیں اس سے کہہ دیجئے یہاں آکر کرمان کا کام کرے۔ تب شاید ہمکو کچھ شرم آئے اور یہ تیار ہوں کہ آپ باہر کے لوگوں کو نہیں بلائیے۔ حالانکہ ہم اسکو شرم کی بات کہتے ہیں۔ یہ بھی کوئی بات ہوئی کہ بلڈنگ ابھی کمپلیٹ اوور نہیں ہوئی۔ بلڈنگ پھٹ گئی۔ ہم نے کمپلینٹ کیا ہے کوئی دیکھنے نہیں جا رہا ہے کہ بلڈنگ کیسے بنی ہے اور کیوں ایسی بنی ہے۔ ایک مرتبہ سزا آپ دیجئے کسی کو۔ مجھے پورا

مولانا عبیداللہ خاں اعظمی: یہی پڑھ دیجئے نہ...

"برگ حنا پر لکھتا ہوں میں درد دل کی بات
شاید رفتہ رفتہ لگے دل پہ بیٹھنے"

شری محمد مسعود خان: ہم دو آدمی ملک بول رہے ہیں۔ ہمارے ایش دت یادو جی نے جو کہا تو واقعہ یہ ہے کہ کبھی کبھی جب لا اینڈ آرڈر خراب ہوتا ہے تو ہمکو یہ شعر ضرور یاد آتا ہے... "مداخلت"...

ایک مائنیہ سوسائٹی پلاننگ میں لگ بڑ ہو گئی... "مداخلت"...

شری محمد مسعود خان: پلاننگ میں ضرور لگ بڑ ہو گئی ہے۔ جو شعر یاد ہے۔ وہ کچھ نقطا نہیں۔ شعر کا دوسرا مصرع کہتا ہوں...

"محلوں میں اجالا ہے۔ کٹیہ میں سیاہی ہے
محسوس ہمیں ہوتا ہے۔ یہ دور تباہی ہے
شیشے کی عمارت ہے۔ پتھر کی گواہی ہے۔"

"ختم شد"۔

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Dr. B.B. Dutta. Just three minutes.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Sir, this *sher* should be interpreted for all of us. Maybe, from, the Vice-Chairman. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): The glass house and the evidence is in the form of stone.

श्री ईश दत्त यादव: प्लानिंग की बात उन्होंने कही है। कहीं-कहीं महलों में उजाला हो रहा है लेकिन पूरे देश में झोंपड़ी ही झोंपड़ी है, प्लानिंग असफल हो रही है, बस यही कह रहे थे।

DR. B.B. DUTTA (NOMINATED): Sir, I would like to confine myself to only one point, and I would like to have clarification from the hon. Minister on that point only because nobody is speaking about it. We are talking about the Ninth Plan, the Approach Paper, how we have completed the Eighth Plan and with what results and all that. My question is this. Is there any planning in this country? I have not come across any single plan project — which has not suffered from time overrun and cost overrun.

Sir, at the end of the Approach Paper to the Ninth Plan, there is a nine-page chapter titled 'Implementation and Delivery System'. Nobody is going in to that chapter. We are examining the objectives of the plan, the strategy adopted in the Plan, the sectoral allocations, the mutual compatibility and the growth target we are going to achieve. But, if you read that chapter at the end — which nobody reads — then you will find that the Planning Commission itself has admitted that there is no planning in this country. I

have just summarised that chapter as to why these projects are not being implemented in time and why there is time overrun and cost overrun and all that. Let me enumerate these factors delay in clearance from the regulatory agency, changes in the design and scope of the project midway through execution, prompt decision not being taken by project managers.

Weak monitoring and evaluation system; findings of evaluation studies not acted upon; lack of scientific approach in project planning; approval procedure every tardy -- it is actually the hangover of the law and order administration left behind by the British and with that we are trying to tackle development administration; non-utilisation, diversion, misuse of funds; and, finally, nobody is responsible for failures because everyone can explain that the project has suffered because of the factors beyond his control. On top of it, our political leaders are prone to play to the gallery and sometimes make certain popular announcements. For example, our former Prime Minister, Shri Deve Gowda went to the North-East and gave a big deal of Rs. 6,100 crores and said that a ten per cent of each Ministry's Budget would be spent on North-East. Now I would like to ask the hon. Minister, out of this Rs. 6,100 crores, how much against which projects are being spent? I have been repeatedly asking this question. This announcement found, in the President's address but I did not get any answer to my question. You see, this kind of an announcement also presumes that there is no planning. Had there been planning it would have been passed through a process and here no processing is done.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, Dr. Biplab Dasgupta raised a point that the Planning Commission should be made a Statutory body and that we should come out with suitable legislation. Another hon. Member raised similar question. If we go through the Constitution, there is no mention of planning except in one article, article 243 (z) (d) and that refers to district planning. I think, it is quite educative for all of us. Article 243 (z) (d) says: "There shall be constituted in every State at the district level a district planning committee consolidating the plans prepared by the Panchayats and the muncipalities in the district and to prepare a draft development plan for the district as a whole." This is the only mention which implies that planning will be at the grass-root level and that planning will be at the district-level and this plan will be submitted to the State Government and the State Government will do the what is necessary. It is this process of planning which the Constitution has empowered. But this has been completely rejected in this country. In name there may be a State Planning Board but in function — I myself was associated with the State Planning Board of two States in the North-East, Assam and Meghalaya — I know what happened at the lower level. Nothing happened. I recall a comment made by respected late Dr. Asoka Mehta. He was telling the State Government officials: "Please remember. Planning is not petitioning." But here, it is the Planning Commission which does the macro exercise. It will open the accounting heads and State Governments would come with petitions: "Give me so much money under this head, so much under that head." This is the type of planning we have come down to. In the Constitution, article 280 mentions about the Finance Commission which will distribute the proceeds available from the taxes between the Union and the States and between States, and 243(i) (y) refers to even State Finance Commission. They have to give funds and there is no question of Plan and non-Plan. That is a thing contributed by Mahalnobis in the First Plan. I am not questioning this because we adopted this largely from the Soviet model of planning with a lot of expectation and with a lot of zeal.

Sir, I would like to say that our first Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru

devoted so much time for this. It has also got a history the late Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose who was the first man to bring in the content of planning into Indian thinking. We are observing his centenary this year, we would like to pay a tribute to his such a far-sighted thinking. But, the point is this that we started with the pro-Soviet model. In that model we are far away from them. Where have we come today? I want that a re-assessment should be made as to what type of planning we are following today. I find that we are not following any planning today. The basic elementary lesson of planning is that there would be a physical plan, a financial plan and there would be a time frame. The Projects have to be concieved in such a way that the physical plan gets translated into action with required finances, within a given period of time, a targeted time. This is the essence of planning. It is with this planning that the Soviet Union achieved within 40 years which England could achieve in a period of 200 years through the Industrial Revolution. We do not deny that there may be some kind of models of planning by which we can beat time, drive away poverty and bring prosperity and well-being to the people. Now, that kind of planning is totally missing in our country today. There is only one planning; planning by the Planning Commission. The planning by the Planning Commission has not been mentioned in the Constitution. I would request that you may consult the Attorney-General of India as to what is his version about this thing because we are doing everything unconstitutionally. We have given all the importance to centralised training, macro planning completely forgetting the decentralised planning and the micro level planning. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, through you, I would like to say one more thing to the hon. Minister and it is this. There is a paragaraph in article 243 ZD which is very significant and it says, "Every District Planning Committee shall, in preparing the draft development plan have regard to; (1) matters of common interest between the Panchayats and the Municipalities including spatial planning, sharing of water and other physical and natural resources, the integrated development of infrastructure and environmental conservation...." Now, we have to see as to where we have failed. Dr. Dasgupta and others were saying that there was a distinction between growth and development. It is this distinction which the paragraph in the constitution takes care of. It is the people who will maintain their forests; it is the people who will plan the available water resources and settle things among themsevles. But we have completely bypassed these aspects of planning, the larger dimension of development and the requirement of growth. The kind of planning that we are having today, we could have done it without using the word 'planning'. Before 1928, in the Soviet Union, there was no planning. Before 1951, we had no planning. We have a Budget every year. There is an inherent planning in every Budget. By budgeting you could have done the same thing. So, my submission is that let us give a clear thinking to it. We are away from the commanding heights; we are away from the public sector dominating the economy and dictating the pace of development. Therefore, let us take stock of things and make an assessment as to what type of planning we want to have for ourselves and what type of planning we are practising now. We have also to see as to what the Constitution says about it and what types of Constitutional amendments are required in this regard. This is the only submission that I wanted to make.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Sir, a lot of words have been said and there have been songs and dances about what we should have done and what we have not done. Sir, so much is left unsaid because we base our life on assumptions...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI

TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Your time is also so limited. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Sir, I thought you are a kind heart. ...(*Interruptions*)... Obviously, you are also gender biased. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): This is one thing which I cannot be accused of. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Anyway, Sir, we do not get what is our due. ...(*Interruptions*)... Sir, I was saying that a lot of things have been said.

4.00 P.M.

What fascinates me is, some of my hon. colleagues and Shri Swaminathan in particular, very rightly pointed out that we do not delve into our own cultures to tap our own resources when we plan for the people of India. We borrow legacies, philosophies and idealogies forgetting that the psyche of the citizen of a nation is carved out of the wars that the nation has fought, of the battles of famine and drought. It is out of the deficiences and inefficiencies that the psyche and profile of a nation emerges, but India wants to borrow from the West. India's experiment was defined and profiled by Mahatma Gandhi. None of his sayings has been rendered inefficient or insufficient. As time goes by, and more modern generations come up, it becomes even more irrevocable. The truth is the unspeakable badness that reigns over us. It is the truth that is going to be a revolver of revolution. And, we must learn to speak the truth and the truth lies in the hypocricy of our system. We do not seize the fundamentals. We talk of a Plan document. We plump it up with nice words and we postulate in front of a nation forgetting the grim realities. The realities that were spelt out by the Constitution did not even begin to comprehend the population of 900 million people. What do we do? We compare ourselves with China. Besides population, there is nothing in common with China. China does not have a democracy. China can afford to implement because it is a nation with a language which does not communicate with the rest of the world. It had a currency which did not go anywhere. China involuted, China has implosions, hence, please do not compare India with China to start with. "We, the people," as we have told them; we have given them the Constitutional right to freedom of speech. It is a democratic India that you have to plan for and take in all the perceptions that are required. What do we do, Sir? We sweep these under the carpet of political posturing, of parties which go out and make propaganda. All of us are guilty of it. We go out and teach an able-bodied Indian citizen to beg and not work. We promise free hand-outs. We give populist measures. And yet, India will fall into the line when the World Bank diktats tell us to withdraw subsidies. We talk, in our Plan Approach, about well-organised public sector; but we talk about disinvestment too. We do not address ourselves to unemployment. We talk about a developing nation but the words 'family welfare' and 'family planning' have become unparliamentary. We do not address ourselves to realities, that we have a population that is growing beyond any numbers that can be computed. How do you plan for a nation that is growing every second? How do you propose to divert monies? And yet, this is the same country that has unspent monies lying in various departments and the Budget. Our Budgets are for the world to see. Our Budgets are a jugglery on paper. We do not calculate the unspent money. We bring it into savings and show it as savings and we are all happy. We give ourselves a pat on the back. The reality is, we do not Budget for education. The fundamental key to the development of a country is in education. It is only through education that you can have development. What kind of education are

we talking about? Article 45 of the Constitution talks about provision of free and compulsory education for children. It did not demarcate gender. The Article says, "The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years." Sir, we are discussing the Approach to the Ninth Plan. I shudder to think how many children we have. We have legislations which are countermanding what the Constitution has asked for. We have gender bias. We have obsolete education methods, degrees which cannot give employment even as a clerk. We have B.As, we have B.Scs, which equip our children to use education as an instrument of crime. So, we have educated crime. We have organised crime. Yet we don't want an educated nation. What does educating a nation mean? It means micro-planning. It means awareness. It means sensitising the citizen to the rights that they have. It means a qualitative approach towards India as a country. It means that we should be able to sincerely echo what Iqbal said.

"सारे जहां से अच्छा हिन्दोस्तां हमारा"

बहुत कम बचा हुआ है आज के दिन, जिसको हम यहां पलटकर कह सकते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में अच्छा कुछ बचा है।

So, I want to know what we have planned for? Did we plan for this population growth? Why is it that we did not address ourselves to it? What is the educational system that we have asked for? What kind to Plan implementation do we propose to bring about? As a small experiment I would like to take pride that the State of Andhra Pradesh has implemented micro-planning in the true essence of the word in its concept of *'Janma Bhoomi'*. *'Janma Bhoomi'* means motherland. In this concept which the Andhra Pradesh Government instroduced, we broke it up into five major components. This is part of educating our people. It is not just academics. In this we brought about social mobilisation and capacity building of the community, especially for the poor. We have what is known as *'Prajala Vaddaku Palana'*, which means "Governance at the doorstep of people". So, the entire machinary moves into the areas, to the doorsteps of the citizens, so that redressal of their grievances takes place on the spot, so that they do not have to come to the Government. Actually, Sir, the term 'governance' should be changed because in a democracy we are not here to rule. Ruling was done by monarchies, kingdoms and fiefdoms. We are here to represent the people. It is in that fine interpretation of what a Government should do that the reality lies. The second part of the *'Prajala Vaddaku Palana'* is in villages, in towns planning, in which people participate directly. They prioritise the needs of their area. It may be a bridge. It may be a burial ground. It may be a road. It may be a primary health centre. But it is the village that decides what they want and the Government implements that, so that the people are participating and there is public social auditing. That is done on the spot. This also gives the right to information and social auditing. *'Janma Bhoomi'* in Andhra Pradesh is on its second leg at this very moment. We have NRIs from Andhra Pradesh who have sent monies for investments. Open accounts are held in the village themselves and people can come and participate; may be, raise a hospital in the name of their parents. NRIs have come forward; may be, build schools in the name of their parents. It is an infrastructure investment that we are giving to people at the doorstep, following the fundamental principle of democracy—'by the people' and 'of the people'. Then, we have participatory planning to ensure basic minimum

services, viz., economic growth, employment and social security to the people. It is not something on which I am looking for a pat on my back. It is not that I am looking for a pat on the back of the State Government. It is a beginning. It is a beginning of hope. It is the fundamental obligation of the federal structure that you decentralise thinking and planning. You cannot have a comprehensive plan for a nation which has so many varied languages and cultures when you impose it from the top. You must resource it from the bottom. It has to be micro planning which goes down, takes in the inputs, gets the feedback and then brings about a plan implementation programme that can be adhered to.

Sir, we have, under the Exclusive Economic zone, 1,50,000, nautical miles of the ocean area to explore. All that we have done so far are only fishy dealings; some very fishy and others not so very fishy. Beyond that, we have not delved into this vast resource. We have not done anything in terms of ocean development, in terms of exploiting this vast resource. We are still dependent on foreign technology.

For a nation of this size, we don't have many sports people.

The point is: whatever you talk about, any avenue you go to, you come back to the fundamental principle that we do not involve ourselves in the task of making this nation a qualitative nation. We do not make enough budgetary allocation for education. We do not prioritise things in the proper manner. Yet State Governments keep on telling this at each and every election. When we are all involved in the mathematics of politicking, we go before each and every voter and say: 'Thou shalt have milk and bread'. Every candidate says: 'I will do this, that and the other if you vote for me'. (*Time-bell*)

Why is it that the State Governments do not adhere to the Planning Commission? They would follow the World Bank's directives, but they would not listen to the Planning Commission, they would not listen to the distats of the Planning Commission. We all beat our chest when we talk about withdrawal of subsidies. But we do not want to teach our citizens' self-respect.

Sir, we have to do nation-building. India is seized with this phenomenon today. It is going to be an ugly insight into the state of the nation. We see families committing suicide; not individuals, anymore. Families are committing suicide. But we have not addressed ourselves yet to this only phenomenon where parents bear children and then kill them because they cannot feed them. Yet we are not disturbed by it! We do not see this as a socio-economic phenomenon that is going to swamp our people. What kind of a nation-building are we addressing ourselves to?

There are thousand and one issues which I would like to talk about. But I have a ruthless Chairperson who has been ringing the bell.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): It is the tyranny of the clock.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Due to constraint of time, I am unable to express all the fears that I have. One thing that we have not addressed ourselves to is old age care. We have longevity of life. We have many health and welfare programmes. But we have not earmarked anything for geriatric hospitals in order to take care of the aged. We have not earmarked anything for the care of old people, with the decline of the joint family system. We have no homes, no resource, no avenue, open in our country for the aged to go to. Yet, whenever people meet each other, a blessing is given for a long life. For what?

Anyway, I would like to end on an

optimistic note. There is only one way for India to go. That is, 'forward'. We will go forward if we address ourselves to the realities.

Sir, this is the Golden Jubilee Year of India's Independence. In this Golden Jubilee Year, we do not have water to drink. We do not have roads. We do not have health care centres. We do not have safety for women. There is one more dream of Mahatma Gandhi which is still to be attained. When women can walk fearlessly in the middle of the night, then only we can say that India has reached those levels which enable us to dream ahead.

Thank you very much, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Before I call upon the hon. Minister to reply to the debate, as the Chairman yesterday had given one minute to Shri Sanatan Bisi, as you will recall...

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI (Gujarat): My name is also there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): I am afraid, because of the time factor... I have been told that your party has consumed its time.

श्री विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा (दिल्ली): सर, मैं टाइम की बात कह रहा हूं कि जो टोटल टाइम एलोटेड था, उसमें हमारा टाइम सबसे कम इस्तेमाल हुआ है और दूसरी पार्टियों का कहीं ज्यादा टाइम इस्तेमाल हुआ है। अगर अब टाइम कम होना है तो परपोर्शनेट कम होना चाहिए क्योंकि बाकी की पार्टियों ने कहीं ज्यादा टाइम हमसे कन्ज्यूम किया है। मेरा निवेदन होगा कि हमारे तीसरे मैम्बर को थोड़ा चार-पांच मिनट का समय दे दीजिएगा।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): You see, the Minister has to go to the other House. An announcement was made in the morning. Yes, Mr. Bisi.

SHRI SANATAN BISI (Orissa): Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity. Several times in the past I had submitted in this House regarding the backwardness of the State of Orissa, more particularly of the districts of Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput. People of those areas are proposing to submit a petition to the Petitions Committee of this House—which I will be presenting to the House shortly—to inquire into the utilisation of funds granted by the Centre for the poverty alleviation programmes there, as the intended beneficiaries are not getting any funds. There are large-scale starvation deaths as well as migration.

So far as the poverty alleviation programmes are concerned, I have got a leaflet printed in Oriya which I am circulating among the people for their benefit. There are 22 programmes that are formulated by the Central Government. I am circulating this leaflet to all the Members for their information. Therefore, for creating awareness among the people, something should be done by the Government. I also suggest that there should be a more serious monitoring of the poverty alleviation programmes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Mr. Solanki, just three minutes because the Minister, who is also from Gujarat, has to reply...*(Interruptions)*... I am afraid, Dr. Jichkar, not today. If I am in the Chair some other time, I won't be as ruthless as I am now, which I am not otherwise!

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI: Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, I will not take much time. Of course, I want to say more about education, agriculture, unemployment and the projects which have been left out but I will take up only two points.

Sir, I take up education first. Only last month I came across a village. That village is having a school building which was constructed ten years ago, but no student has been studying in that school because no teacher has been appointed there. Not only that. You will be

surprised to know that since the last 50 years, no man in that village has been educated. The name of that village is Madhupura under Radhanpura. We have been talking much about the rural functional education system. We have spent a lot of money but still, even after 50 years of Independence, we do not find any education. I remember one proverb, that wise man cannot leave a better legacy than an educated family. Of course, knowledge is not a burden but power to me. But, at the same time, I would like to submit that a good provision may be made so that instead of teaching elderly people we teach the present generation because it is much better to do so.

Secondly, in the Ninth Five-Year Plan paper you have shown the defects of the Eighth Five-Year Plan but, at the same time, nothing is said about the projects which are undone and for which huge amounts have been spent. I am talking of the Sardar Sarovar Project, which is the lifeline of Gujarat State. That should also be taken up for consideration because we have already spent more that Rs 12,000 crores on that. Therefore, that should also be taken up.

So far as agriculture is concerned, I would like to ask the question whether we have provided full facilities to the small agriculturists in the last fifty years. The answer would be, "No." I am not going to refer to all the pages, I will just quote one sentence from this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Not from the Minister's book.

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI: This is not the Minister's book.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): He has written extensively on agriculture.

SHRI GOPALSINH G. SOLANKI: This has been published by one, Mr. Raghaven. It is titled: Public Sector in India — Changing Perspective." you will be surprised to know that on page 19.... *(Interruptions)*....The growth in employment in the organised sector right from 1976 to 1991 is 0.5 per cent. Then, the structural investment in enterprises producing goods—agro-based industries is 0.01 per cent only. We are laying much emphasis that this whole nation is agricultural based.

At the same time, I would like to submit one more thing. There should be a block system where there can be an irrigation system. Money should be provided to that block to equip it with diesel pumps or electricity. In Gujarat we do not have electricity for agricultural purposes for ten to fifteen years together. They have classified (a), (b) and (c). They would provide electricity immediately on receipt of the application within 30 metres, but beyond that they do not provide electricity. Therefore, the agriculturists are suffering. The main cause of their suffering is that all the labourers are going out with their children, and they do not educate them.

So, these are my suggestions to be taken into consideration, particularly those on the Sardar Sarovar Project.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Thank you, Solankiji, for your co-operation.

Now, the Minister of Planning, and he has on his plate, to start with, Sardar Sarovar.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF PLANNING AND PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION AND MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

I must say that both as a student of planning and as the Planning Minister, I am really almost overwhelmed by the very great detail in which the Members

have commented on the Approach Paper and by the overall support and appreciation that the paper has received.

I am very happy to report to the House that the discussions in the National Development Council also went more or less along these lines. This is important to the Planning Commission because the Planning Commission is the Planning Commission of the Government of India and also the Planning Commission of India. The fact that in the NDC the Chief Ministers from all the States belonging to very different political parties gave overwhelming support to the Approach Paper, gives all of us a lot of confidence and a sense—I would not say "of achievement"—but of a desire to do better in the final Plan.

So, what I plan to do is to deal separately with some of the general comments that have been made on the Approach Paper and the planning strategy by very senior Members of this House, people who have a lot of experience and have studied these issues very carefully, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, Chavan Saheb, Biplabji, Som Palji, Dr. Swaminathan, all distinguished Members. I may not be able to handle every issue. So, I will also deal in detail only with some of the major issues that have been raised.

Basically, planning is based on an assessment of the strength as well as the weaknesses of the economy in the period before it. I am very happy that the Members have taken the first few pages of the Approach Paper and have commented in considerable detail both on the strength and the weakness of the economy.

It is of some pleasure to the Planning Commission, and to me personally that the assessment of most of the Members was along the lines that the Approach Paper talks about, that we have achieved a faster growth rate. I do not think that there is any question about that. The balance of payments was in difficulties, and by the end of the Eighth Plan there was a sense of relief. I don't think that there is any discussion on that. And yet there are questions like some major weaknesses in the development of agricultural potential, the fact that the infrastructure sectors were not doing as well as was planned, and that, in fact, in some sectors there were very serious weaknesses, the fact that unemployment particularly the present-day unemployment rate of male workers went up, and that too among the poor is a very serious matter.

जब वह गरीब आदमी गांव में काम के लिए जाता है और अगर उसको कुछ काम नहीं मिलता तो "दिनों के स्तर पर" उसकी नाप-तोल की जाती है और यह बेकारी की जो दर है, वह बढ़ गयी है।

And also there is the fact of regional inequalities. These are issues which were considered very seriously in the discussions and the Plan has to take care of these issues.

I would like to point out to Shri Vijay Kumar Malhotra that, while he has used it, he would not find the work 'percolation' at all in the Approach Paper. Of course, growth is important and it is the basic objective of the economy. We are thinking of an economy which will grow fast and we have confidence that it will grow fast. We are also talking about an economy which will be able to stand on its own legs, provided the policies are followed improving savings, of bringing about sectoral reforms so that towards the end of the decade or early in the next decade it is able to stand on its own legs without any props. That is the vision that the Planning Commission is projecting. Yet it is saying that these other problems are not issues which can be ignored.

The hon. Member, Shri Swaminathan said that there are old models and old mind-sets. I do not want to discuss names. Both Nehru and Mahalanobis were such great minds that, I am sure, if they were there today, they would have been thinking on very different lines. But

the Ninth Five-Year Plan is not a replica of the Second Five-Year Plan. It is, in fact, talking about mixtures of markets and strategic intervention. It is not talking about the State controlling everything and planning everything in terms of details. In fact, the Approach Paper makes it very clear that it is going to plan some things in greater detail. Those where there have been great failures in the past five-year periods. But, other things, it is going to leave to the market. That, I think is a decisive break in terms of the mind-set. I would submit that it is easy to talk and make comparisons.

I am glad that Renuka Ji has said that it would be wrong to make rather naive comparisons between India and China. People talk about foodgrains production or population growth in China and India without really looking at some of the basic facts. But the plain fact of the matter is that it is not that some of the successful countries that have been talked about by the hon. Members do not have a strategic view of the role of the State and the economic policy. In fact, it has been said correctly—Dr. Biplab Dasgupta has also written a book on it and other economists have also spoken on it—that successful export promotion has taken place in those countries, which also did successful import substitution and the State played a major role in terms of leading strategies, in leading sectors.

A mention was made of South Korea. The late Rajiv Gandhi had sent me to South Korea. In the late 80s, when South Korea was exporting about 25 per cent of its colour televisions in the world, it was not allowing colour television at home. So, there are no easy options for a country like India to become a major power and to have its rightful role. I would agree with this completely. But, I would say that successful stories are stories of stratigic intervention; to know where to intervene. It is not that the Planning Commission does not know the great strength of the Indian farmer or the power of decentralised markets. Of course, it knows that. If you read the Approach Paper, you will find what it says. "A lot of exports are taking place in India based on the strengths works of its artisans and farmers." It is not that the Planning Commission does not know that. But, where you don't have these pre-conditions, where people do not have enough to eat, where markets are not there, there you need intervention and you need intervention in greater detail. This is what the Planning Commission is talking about. It is not talking about mechanical rules of globalisation. It is talking about India taking its rightful place in the world. It is talking about the development policies which are based on knowledge and which are based on an understanding of the past which leads us to this transition for a better future. I agree with the hon. Member, Dr. Biplab Dasgupta and we don't agree with the World Bank's contention that planning doesn't have a role to play in India. I would like to make it very clear that if those economists who have written the portion of the world bank document that he read it out from, might have taken care to read out some documents which came out from Washington then such statements would not have been made. I will quote to you a recent study made by the International Monetary Fund in its Staff Papers. It analyses 50 years of Indian planning. I quote: "Have the initially poor economies of India grown faster than their initially rich counterparts?" They are discussing the regional aspect of Indian planning—"A key conclusion of this paper is that there has indeed been convergence in real per capita incomes across the States of India during the period 1961 to 1991. The convergence found is absolute because it occurs when no explanatory variables other than the initial level of per capita income are held constant." Again it says, "Grants from the Central Government to the States did ensure that dispersion of State's real per capita disposable income was narrower than the dispersion of

State's real per capita incomes, as relatively more grants were transferred to poor States than to their rich counterparts." So, I would suggest to my friends to read at least the documentation which came out from Washington. We don't agree with the suggestion made by the World Bank as quoted by the hon. Member, Dr. Biplab Dasgupta that Indian planning should behave like a development bank. Of course, prudence, better management, monitoring and the kind of questions which the hon. Members has raised here are extremely important and I would come to them. But there are cases where you have to give grants to areas where you will not get in the next year a rate of return which goes according to current market rate of interest. Some of our States are not developed, if you take a very narrow financial vision, a banking vision or the short run; It would not help us. You have to have a development strategy. Therefore, we don't agree with the proposition that all grants of the Planning Commission have to be project and they have to be given only where the rate of return meets the market rate of return and similar kind of things. Of course, prudence is important, returns are important. But, if something is required to operationalize a development strategy for the country, then, it is the job of the Planning Commission, both in terms of policies as well as allocation of resources, to suggest that this should be done. I humbly submit to the hon. Member, Vijaya Kumar Malhotra that is is not correct to say that the first year of the Ninth Five Year Plan is a plan holiday. In the first year of the Ninth Five Year Plan, many of the concepts of the Approach Paper which are there in the Ninth Plan have been applied. I will describe about the Basic Minimum Service Programme and the Advance Irrigation Benefit Programm in detail a little later. It is true that in the last year in the Central Plan, there was some slippage. There was a shortfall of a little more than Rs. 4000 crores in the energy sector in respect of two major hydel projects Kaikulam and Cheemera. There was some problem in procuring the equipment. That is why there was a slippage. The slippage was also due to inadequate generation of internal resources by public sector units which they thought they would. On the other hand, we have put in Rs. 2,400 crores in the Basic Minimum Service Programme which has not been shown in the Central Plan. We have also put in Rs. 900 crores in the Advanced Irrigation Benefit Programme. There the States have also put in more money. Therefore, the States' Plan in the social sector and in irrigation went up as compared to the last year. In this year's Annual Plan you cannot simply quote the Central Plan because when we are discussing the Plan, it is the Central Plan and the State's Plan. When you follow the kind of strategy we are talking about where the States are encouraged to look at their own priorities more, then, the States outlays would go up. This also the point at the district level to which I will come a little later. The States' Plan has gone up from Rs. 49,000 crores to Rs. 58,000 crores. And that is also because of the kind of strategies that we are following. I do not agree with it when it is said that the first year of the Plan is a holiday whether you look at it from the side of outlay or whatever. The State Plan Outlay has gone up by about 21 per cent. I could mention all those States where this has happened. In some of the poorer States also, the performance has been good in respect of newer strategies, irrigation, basic minimum services and the whole area of science policy and so on. I will discuss some of the issues as I come along. There has been progress.

I think the first basic issue was raised by hon. Pranab Mukherjee Saheb when he made the point that he saw a dilemma between the investment strategies and the Plan and the fiscal deficit. I think he has spoken in considerable detail. What he

has said is something that we will look into in a lot of detail in the finalisation of the Ninth Plan. But I will submit for your consideration that there is, in the Approach Paper, a nuance which needs to be looked into. What we are talking about is that we are wanting a reduction in the Government's revenue deficit. And we are not talking so much about a cap on investment by borrowings. I think this is a nuance. It has always been there in the Planning Commission. But whether it was there in the development strategy all the time in the last 8-10 years, I am not making that point again and again and again. I do not want to quote it because we do not have that much of time for detail. It is really talking about something like a one per cent of GDP decline in revenue deficit. The Plan critically hinges on that. I think you put the question whether it is going to take place. If you look at the States, it is one thing to talk about the aggregate picture of the States, but there are a number of States which are doing this. They are doing a fiscal restructuring. They are also trying to cut down on this kind of expenditure that the Planning Commission wants to be cut down. there are, in fact, seven or eight States which have achieved, in the last two years and in the Eighth Plan as well, their targets which, in other words, means that they are more or less going along the lines that the Planning Commission is talking about. Therefore, what we are saying does not sound to be that impractical. What one is really saying is about the kind of fiscal restructuring which is taking place in some States. For example, States like Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu have achieved more than 90 per cent of their Plan. Andhra has achieved in a fairly substantial measure. I could keep on reading from the list. In fact, there are only two or three States which had a major short-fall. Those States are of concern because they are very poor States and that is where we have some of the fundamental problems that we had been talking about.

Again, what the Approach Paper is talking about is a planning strategy which sectorally encourages States to restructure and put in money in the areas where we are giving the focus. The whole talk of cooperative federalism is not just up on the air. I would like to illustrate this in some detail because this aspect of the Approach paper has not been mentioned in much of detail. It is going to be the substance of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, whether it is Basic Minimum Services, whether it is the Advanced Irrigation Benefit Programme or areas like agriculture. So many hon. Members, Chowdhury Som Palji and Chavan Saheb, for example, have said—and they are absolutely right—that agriculture has to be the major focus of the Ninth Five-year Plan. In all these sectors, we are talking about a strategy where we sit together with the States and draw out objectives in a common manner in detial. This is where we want to do detailed planning. We do not want to plan for the whole country. If it is a small-scale industry, we want to give them support for market based development. If it is a question of exporters, we want to give them support—communication facilities, infrastructure or whatever. But in agriculture, the Basic Minimum Services, science and technology, which we think citical to India's future, we want policies which are a mixture of public initiative and private initiative. We want money, investment coming from the people of India, from their savings, from traders, from farmers and so on. But what we are saying is that our objectives are drawn up here. Then, if necessary, the State will put in Plan investment, and that is the difference between a strategy of strategic intervention and a strategy which only talks about a fiscal strategy by itself. We are talking about the add-on of a the development strategy to a fical strategy. And this is very important because it is a change in the mindset and it is extremely important. Now, what was the basic minimum services plan? For example, in the Disinvestment Commission also,

there was some discussion. But we have made it very clear that the Disinvestment Commission will also look at the problem of restructuring. It is not just a Commission which is going to look at earning money. This point was made by an hon. member and I would recommend that he reads the Terms of Reference of the Disinvestment Commission. It is again a part of the same kind of strategy that I am talking about, now, I think, more and more, this is also feeding into the annual Budget.

The whole question of the widening of the tax base is something that the Planning Approach Paper talks about. We welcome this year's Budget for that. I have noticed the point that Dr. Biplab Dasgupta made with respect to the rural rich. But what we are saying is that all this boils down to a strategy of strategic intervention where you use market, where you do not shy away from globalisation and yet you are willing to intervene where it is required. Now, take the Basic minimum Services Programme. For two days, I mention two days, because in one day, it is not possible for the Chief Ministers of India to develop a common detailed strategy. This was soon after the last election. When we talk about now about the Basic Minimum Services Programme, I would like to inform Prof. Vijay Kumar Malhotra about it. I owe my sincere apology for referring to Mr. Malhotra as Mr. Gupta. I am grateful to Shri Bhairon Singh Sekhawat, who has commented on it in detail, to Shri Jyoti Basu, to the Chief Minister of Orissa; all the Chief Ministers when they first met, commented on it in detail. What did we decide? We decided that these are our objectives for the year 2002. I will send a copy of the seven objectives to the hon. Members which were decided in the Chief Ministers conference. They said: "Okay. Mr. Planning Minister, you sit down with four Chief Ministers and decide what the modalities are." You could say that the Chief Ministers were very happy because they were getting good things. But it was also decided that they would contribute 30 per cent of the requirement. They were in financial difficulty. But they said that they would contribute to the extent of 30 per cent. The hon. Chief Minister of Bihar was a member of that Committee.

मेरे पास तो यह रुपया नहीं है।

The hon. Members discussed the whole question of voluntary contributions. The hon. Member, Smt. Renuka Ji, mentioned about it. We said: "If you cannot contribute in the form of money, you contribute with your own labour." If you are talking about building a school....सर। गांव में तो मैं भी गया हूं...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री मोहम्मद मसूद खान: आपका कहना ठीक है, आप मिनिस्टिर हैं न।

श्री योगेन्द्र के० अलघ: मैं प्रोफेसर होकर भी गांव में गया हूं। मैंने सरदार सरोवर का भी नियोजन किया था। अपने राज्य की गांव की धूल छानी है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Mr. Alagh, you address them but look at me. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI YOGENDRA K. ALAGH: Sir, through you, I am addressing him. So, the Chief Minister said that they would contribute to the extent of thirty per cent. Those who could not contribute in cash, they would contribute with labour. They said that for this year, you could allocate the money in this way. But from the next year, it will be a gap-filling strategy. Some of the members were trying to indicate that this will not be possible. It is always easy to make fun of a very important Plan like the basic minimum services plan. But if you read the reports of the Chief Ministers, you will find that it also talks about the contribution of the community. I do not mind saying as Planning Minister that if you are talking about educating every girl, if you are talking about giving medicines to every Indian women, child and man, if you are talking about giving

drinking water and if you are saying that the Planning Commission, and the Government of India will do it, it will never happen. That is not what the Chief Ministers are saying. That is not what the Planning Commission is saying. We are saying, 'You will do it'. The States will do it. Janmabhoomi or the Kerala kind of programmes will do it. The national Plan is meant to support those who support themselves and I submit to you with all seriousness as a teacher of economics that it is not unfeasible to build such a Plan provided India decides to do it and its communities do contribute to it. It will be impossible if you always say that everything has to be done by my colleagues, the Member Secretary of the Planning Commission or the Deupty Chairman of the Planning Commission. Then you can always say that any development strategy, if it has to be funded from the top, will not be feasible. That is not what we are talking about. Mr. Swaminathan, that is also a change from the development strategy of the past. We are talking about technology which reduces cost. That is what the Chief Ministers said. We are talking of these things in terms of packages. The same is the case with water or the Advanced Irrigation Benefit programme. We have set up a high-powered commission to look at the whole question of project implementation and the development of the water potential of India. Decentralised projects and large projects. First, I would like to say that these are very important sectors. Basic minimum services, कृषि, पानी और साईस एंड टेक्नोलॉजी, इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर इन्हीं चीजों में नियोजन की प्राथमिकता होगी, बाकी चीजें हम छोड़ना चाहते है। यह सब कुछ हो नहीं पाता। ये सब बातें करेंगे तो रोजगार और गरीबी की समस्याएं सुलझाई जा सकेंगी। आपने जो बात कही कि इसका इम्पलीमेंटेशन कैसे होगा? वह एक बड़ी इम्पोर्टेन्ट बात है।

SHRI ANANTRAY DEVSHANKER DAVE: Are you monitoring it or not?

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: I will come to that. I am also the Minister for Programme Implementation. As the hon. Member Mr. Dutta said, there are ten pages on that. We have the courage to admit our failures. If you admit your failures, then you really start taking the first road to success. As far as agriculture is concerned, the Approach Paper says इस मुल्क के जो भिन्न विस्तार हैं इनके लिए योजना बनानी पड़ेगी। वाटर शेड डेक्लपमेंट में, टेक्नॉलोजी। ये जो बातें की गई हैं, इनको प्राथमिकता देनी पड़ेगी। जहां जमीन की समस्या है उसको उन्होंने डिटेल किया है।

It is not abstract. The agro-climatic plan is given in detail. There are targets like so many million hectares can be irrigated under tanks. We were not doing this earlier. So many million hectares can be irrigated under water-shed development programme. The technology component is there. There are two or three economic issues which have been mentioned and on which I would like to emphasise. One is regarding the whole question of seeds. The hybrid paddy programme is successful and in a few other areas, the seed programme will go the way they are going. It involves adopting and spreading modern seed material across the country. This needs to be addressed in a very serious manner. Now we are talking of widespread development. The Approach Paper says that in this region it should be dry — land horticulture. You meet the farmers' requirements of grains from somewhere else, link employment programmes with these programmes of soil and water development and they will be happy. We have done it in Gual Pahadi in Haryana. If the hon. Members want, I can arrange a visit for them. We have the largest collection of tissue culture for different plants tree. It is the largest in the world. It is a great scientific achievement made by India's bio-technology. We have built a similar facility at Pune. Now we want that this should spread to the farmers in different agro-climatic regions. We can make use of the private sector for this. There are 240 companies in India which spread tissue culture. Genetic engineering is a far more difficult job. *(Interruptions)*

I think the point about GATT and so on was very well made. To think that by simply moving over from a regime of quantitative controls to a trade regime, Indian agriculture will benefit, I think is a very naive view. We have to develop a strategic view as to how we are going to negotiate in the next round. For one thing, it is well-known that the developed countries, as some hon. Members have said, have already negotiated themselves into a very strong position. They are not going to give you many concessions. In fact, there has been a study by a man called Ingco which shows that they do not have to give many more tariff concessions. That much of adjustment is not going to take place on their side even in terms of reduction in subsidies. So the kind of issues that Dr. Dasgupta made is that you have to develop a strategic proposition for the world, you have to encourage Indian agricultural exports. There is no denying that. And you will sooner or later have to move out of a regime where you don't have any trade at all. But the question is how you do it. That is the kind of question that the development policy will have to get into and the Government has appointed a Committee under Mr. Rajan, Secretary, Agriculture, where economists who have studied this problem will get into this issue in a more detailed manner. I think the plan also very correctly emphasises agricultural exports, it very correctly says that one of the real issues in agriculture is going to be the revamping of the agricultural credit system. Now, Sir, I do not want to get into details but in every one of our major strategic sectors this is the kind of approach that we have. We are talking about a set of policy initiatives which takes into account global opportunities, our own market opportunities. But the State is willing to intervene where intervention is required. That is the nature of the Ninth Plan.

Now, employment is an extremely important issue and it needs a more detailed treatment. I will be the first man to admit that; it is there in the Approach Paper in the final version of the Plan. Even in the NDC this was the major issue which all the Chief Ministers had said. But if you look at the Approach Paper but more is needed we are committed now to an employment assurance scheme which is nation-wide and which is demand-driven. Government has already announced that. Faster growth of agriculture and the kind of emphasis that we have like rural credit, infrastructure, basic minimum services, again are employment-generating. Irrigation programmes are employment generating both in the construction phase as well as after irrigation water is put into the field. Now it is absolutely right to say that industrial investment in the organised sector has not generated very high employment opportunities in the last round and I do not think it will, in the next round, given the nature of industrialisation that is taking place. But if you read the Approach Paper, it clearly talks about a strategy where you try and use a rural infrastructure development fund, for example, for developing infrastructure for artisan-based development and for agro-based development; it says, in every district of India, try and find out a large project, a large demand opportunity, then train people, if roads are required, quality control processing, skills market linkages. So its strategy is to bring the advantages of market-based development to the most backward areas of India by linking up and by these kinds of employment strategies and employment intensive growth pattern; but you are always willing to take the reserve labour force through a nation-level employment guarantee scheme; plus, of course, the Planning Commission has set up a Committee under one of its Members which has gone into the whole issue of integrating all its employment projects and again it has gone into some very

detailed comments on the integration of anti-poverty programmes with the employment strategy. I don't have the time to go into it. But these are the kind of details which will be discussed in the 9th Five Year Plan.

I would agree with the hon. Member, Dr. Biplab Dasgupta, that land reforms is very important. And the Planning Commission keeps talking about it. It has again examined the whole problem. The whole issue of land records, we think, is extremely important. We think a lot can be done by the kind of things which we have done, for example, in Bengal, where even our modern satellite imagery and modern methods of mapping can be used to create a structure of land records. Land Records which are transparent are extremely important, Sir, because given the urgency of what we are saying the Planning Commission is very clear that some of the additional growth will have to come, for example, from the Eastern region and you cannot channel credit, water, structured subsidies. And you are right. In fact, we would have more of these, Dr. Biplab Dasgupta, inspite of what the world Bank and Some economists are saying. We will encourage tubewell irrigation and if that means that the poor man has to be given some credit and some support for that, we will do it. The Ganga Kalyan Yojna is only a beginning. There will be more to come in the 9th Five Year Plan But all of that does also require that lower level institutions work. Otherwise, with the kind of fears that the hon. Member, Shri Mohd. Masud Khan, mentioned, all these benefits will go away. So, land records and strengthening of local level institutions are very important. What the Planning Commission and the Central Government are talking with the States, the States will have to at the local level. That is why one is encouraged with the kind of initiatives which have taken place in Bengal or the old Panchayati Raj States of Gujarat and Maharashtra and then Andhra and Kerala were also talked about.

The hon. Member, Shri Bangaru Laxman, is not here. The Deputy Chairman and I have had a separate meeting of the Scheduled Caste and Schedule Tribe MPs and I think there was some discussion as to whether we need another Commission. But I think setting up another commission, the past experience shows, doesn't necessarily solve the problem but what will solve the problems is much better monitoring, a separate master plan for irrigation in those areas which are primarily tribal and have SC population, Landless labourers and small farmers basically. These are the strategies which we have found have worked in some Districts of the country earlier after some evaluation. On the strategy for master plans for artisan-based development, on the very important question of atrocities on the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribe people and on the whole problem of night-soil, there are some very concrete suggestions which have been gone into and which we will look into in the next round. Also, there is now more emphasis on doing something for the handicapped and the disabled people and a monitoring mechanism is being set up for that and there are targets now of setting up rehabilitation centres at the State level and at the District level having at least a centre in each hospital plus trying to have a strategy of 3% reservation in jobs. There is a Bill, as you know. We are monitoring the whole question as to how we are going to organise it.

The hon. Member, Shri Malhotra, mentioned about the population policy. Well, I would suggest that the real big issue there is to give the mother and the girl-child the importance that they deserve, rather than talking about China. In fact, China as is well known is having a lot of rethinking on its populaiton policy. There are very eminent Chinese specialists who have now said that force doesn't work as much as it was thought. In fact, the Chinese population growth rate is now estimated to be a little higher

than what it was thought about earlier. In our case, we are very clear about it. Of course, as you know, our Birth Rate is going down, Sir. Our Death Rate is going down faster. But out population growth is now a little less than 1.9 per cent. It is not 2 per cent plus. We know now through various studies that there is a demand for facilities and it cuts across religion. I would submit for the hon. member's consideration; if he wants I will send him those studies. Then there is this famous interview of some young ladies belonging to the minority community in the town from which I come, Ahmedabad, with Mark Tully, where they made it very clear that they wanted family planning facilities and they made, in fact, some remarks about the religious leaders, which I am not in a position to repeat in the House. But, also in areas like Jodhpur, I have recently seen a study where ladies from the minority community meet social workers and say this. We see it all the time on the Doordarshan, "who is coming to give us all these facilities?" So, our Ninth Plan is going to concentrate on those districts. Then we have a project there which has already been negotiated for this and the funding is more or less available. In the worst districts, from the family planning angle, as examined from 1991 census, we are going to concentrate on better organisation, filling up gaps in infrastructure, trying to go for the kind of thing which succeeds rather than simply having a theoretical model which works at the national level.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): It you are talking about the theoretical model again, then please don't look at Dr. Biplab Dasgupta. It is in your own interest. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: I know that. I won't do that. And then, drugs, contraceptives. This is the nature of the Plan, but the real issue is empowering the woman. I think the Minsitry of Family Welfare is making it very clear that the male has also now to be involved in the family planning programme in a much larger way than earlier. Somehow or the other, the Studies show that many of our males think that this is a job for women. This is all wrong. No family planning programme will succeed unless the community gets involved. So, these are my submissions to the hon. Members. So far as the whole business of china and the use of force is concerned, in fact, all over the world it is now well known that force does not succeed in successful family welfare programmes. A more rational and scientific attitude, an attitude which understands the culture of the people, which brings the role of the woman upfront is where is important, and the programme has to relate with that.

Sir, I have a number of points on monitoring and so on, but I really won't be able to read them because I don't have the time. They are written out in the last chapter of the Approach paper. ...*(Interruptions)*... I have to go to the Lok Sabha where I have to reply on the atomic Energy, but I will just make one or two important points.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): You may be very brief on these points.

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: The more we move towards transparency and accountability वह पैसा कहां खर्च होता है? वह अगर खाली किताब में लिखा होगा तो दूसरी बात होगी, लेकिन अगर गांव के स्तर पर सारी बात होगी कि कौन खर्चा कर रहा है और वह कहां जा रहा है, तो उम्मीद यह की जाती है कि हमारी कम्युनिटीज में यह शक्ति होगी कि उस पैसे का अच्छा उपयोग होगा। तो यह बड़े महत्व की बात है जो आप ने आखिरी में कही है।

Many hon. Members mentioned about it. Through you, Sir, I would like to congratulate the hon. Member for all that he has said. There are some small points. Committees have been set up under MPLADS. मेरे अपने राज्य में यह समिति बनाई गई है।

There are some States which are doing it, some have not done it. Sir, you yourself had been the Comptroller and Auditor General of India and know how performance varies from State to State in our country. I need not tell you all these things. But, we must push in that direction.

The hon. Member advised me to visit many of these sites. I always do that, but it would be a privilege to visit some of them with him.

I would like to inform the hon. Members that the North-East Programme is taken very seriously. Ten per cent allocation is being monitored by the Planning Commission. All the projects are also being monitored. We have every intention of seeing to it that the North-East Plan is also monitored.

As far as project monitoring is concerned, I think the strategy we have adopted talks about it that in the implementation phase, targets for implementation should be a part of the memorandum of understanding. People should be responsible for milestones for implementation also. Here, I think the Ninth Plan is making a breakthrough over the earlier plans because earlier you always negiotated with the project authorities the rate of return of a working project, but that a person is responsible for the implementation phase in terms of annual target is something that we have talked about and I think it is an important change. Also, this is now more difficult and I would submit through you, Sir, to the hon. Members that I hope that they will support the Planning Ministry and the Planning Commission in this. We have said that those projects which are going on for a very large number of years, for ten years or more, where very little money has been spent, where nothing has been done, then let us get over with them instead of keeping on to this fiction that some day we are going to implement them. If you later on think that you have the resources, then you can implement them. Action has been taken on one or two proejacts. There is an empowered committee on it, and the Planning Commission is taking up these issues one by one because you cannot spread your resources when things don't get done.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Mr. Minister, it is past five o'clock. I have to take the Sense of the House. Shall we continue till six o'clock.

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: I will finish in five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Yes, you will. Some of the zero Hour and other matters should also be taken up if the House so desires.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Let him finish first, Sir.

SHRI YOGINDRE K. ALAGH: Sir, I want to mention the priority that the Plan has given to science and technology. Some of the details have been discussed by the hon. Members also. I am not repeating them but the strategy that we have is that in some areas the state will invest. By and large, we will encourage science institutions to integrate themselves with the functioning of the economy. The rupee for rupee incentive scheme we were able to persuade the Finance Minister or the Technology Development Board where our technology institutions are getting in touch with community organisations or the private sector organisations. We fund these expenditures with some money from the private sector and some money from the State or the Suvarna Jayanti scheme where we have said that young Indian scientist who dares to do global research will be funded provided it is good. These are important initiatives. I would be the first one to admit that in the area of science education a lot more needs to be done. The Prime Minister has already told us that we must take major initiatives but for this scientific temper is very important. The Prime

Minister has also asked the department of science and Technology on this. We will be taking all the science secretaries to every state. It is beginning with the North-East. They may be from Science and Technology, CSIR, Biotechnology, Electronics, Space, Atomic Energy and Ocean Development. We will take all of them to a State and we will sit down there. I think, we will coordinate our things better in the local level. More important is that we will coordinate with the state authorities. Take for example state like Kerala. There are powerful science institutions. Late Achyuta Menon had set up so many of them. Some are doing well and others are not doing well. West Bengal has a science plan. There are a number of states. We are starting with the North-East which the Prime Minister has agreed to initiate. We will be going to every state. Then there are some problems. I am not saying that Science Department will solve all the problems. If there are some major problems in which the science and Technology Department can be employed entirely, then we will provide funds for them so that at least we start thinking about them in a more creative manner.

All in all, I am very optimistic about it, partly because I am optimistic kind of a person and also because I have studied Indian Planning. I think, it keeps in touch with what is going on. It analyses the past. It will be foolish to say that simply we have said, everything will be all right. This is a great country and not everything is achieved in the way we say. But there are substantial achievements and, I think, as long as those are there and our poeple show great strengths that they have always shown, I am very confident that we will achieve 7% rate of growth. We will turn-around the whole infrastructure problem and we will make a major attempt at resolving the problem of giving the daily needs to the people where they do not have them and also solving some of our more fundamental problems which relate to agriculture, land problems, water problems, sustainable developmental problems—and bring about more decentralised development. With these words I thank you for the time you have given me. I thank again each one of the Members who have participated in this. They are very valuable suggestions, I thank for all the encouragement we have received. I can assure all of them that whatever guidance we get for the finalisation of the Ninth Five Year Plan and furhter, the UF Ministry would consider it a privilege to incorporate it in the Plan.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Thank you, Mr. Alagh. I think it is the sense of the House to continue. Mr. Vayalar Ravi, not here. Mr. K.M. Saifullah now.

Re: Tragic Death of Haj Pilgrims in a Fire Accident near MECCA—(Contd.)

SHRI K. M. SAIFULLAH (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I would like to bring to the notice of the Government the tragedy which took place during the Haj pilgrimage and which resulted in a loss of life and property. In the morning, hon. Members spoke about this tragedy. I would like to suggeset that instead of doing a *post mortem* of the issue, we should try to find out precautionary measures that can be taken to prevent such incidents in future. With regard to various precautions in this regard, I would like to submit that people in India are going for Haj two or three times. Some people have gone there for five times. The Government should take intiative in this regard. One pilgrimage is mandatory, the remaining are optional, I also suggest that the Government should take some action not to give visas to those persons who are going more than once for Haj. The persons who are going for the first time should be given preference so that the rush is less. There was a lot of rush this time and I am an eye witness to this. There were more than 25 to 30 lakh people who have congregated there to offer *namaj*